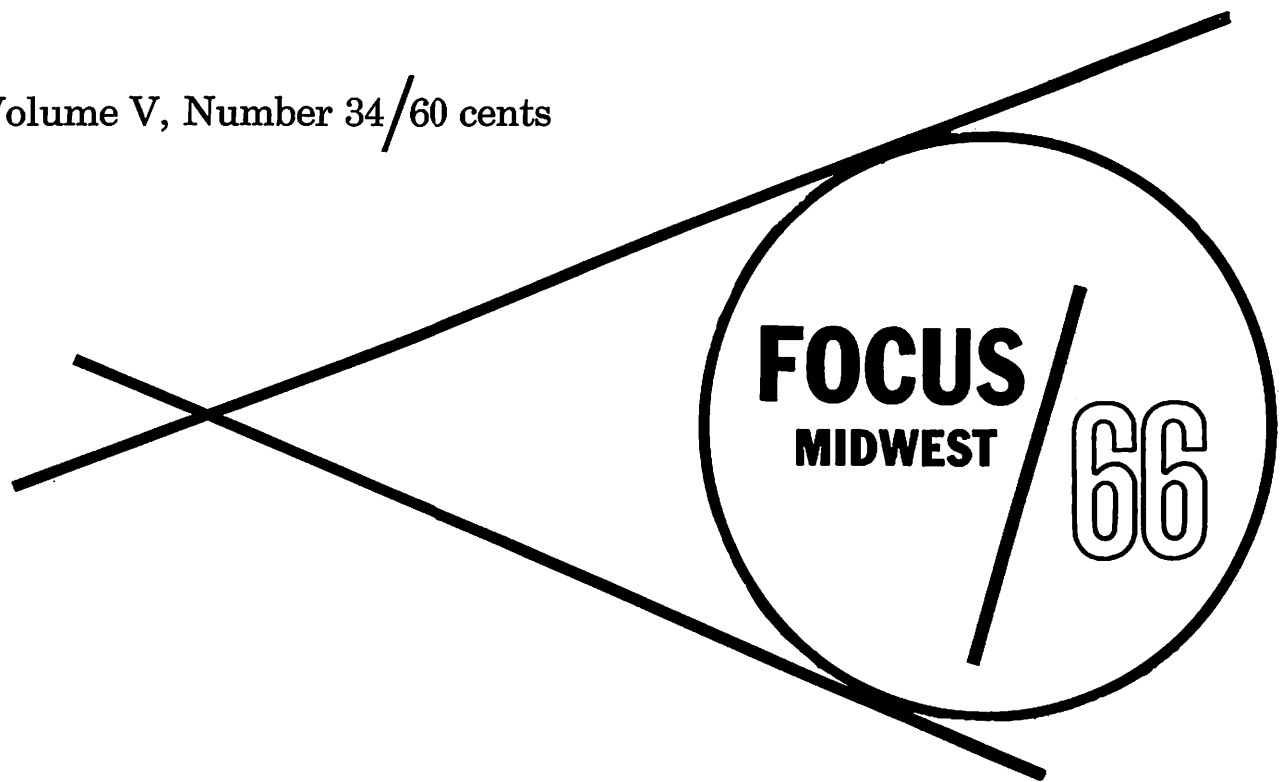


Volume V, Number 34/60 cents



The LIBERAL POSITION

James Hitchcock

A Case Study WAR ON GANGSTERISM

Barney Wander

ALSO: Congressional Redistricting; The Time Has Come, Mayor Daley; Ombudsman for St. Louis; Senator Symington at the Crossroads; Comstockery in Kirkwood; Voting Records; Poems

OUT OF FOCUS

(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)

The Jewish actress who has been playing the important role of Tzeitel, the daughter of Tevye, in the Broadway production of "Fiddler on the Roof," has been dismissed from the cast because she took time off to observe Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur (among the most important Jewish holidays) . . . All the key stage production personnel involved in the matter are Jewish.

From Kansas City Jewish Chronicle

Detectives from the St. Louis County Police Department seized the motion picture "Dear John" at a suburban, plush movie house and arrested the manager and projectionists for exhibiting a "lewd and obscene movie."

Junction City (Kansas) voters will vote on a proposed ordinance banning any participation in federal Urban Renewal for ten years. The wording of the ordinance requires voters opposing urban renewal to vote "yes" while those favoring it must vote "no."

Mike Royko, *Chicago Daily News'* unparalleled squasher of peacockery and megalomania, revealed in his column that Pat Boone, who has been cashing in laughs at the expense of objectors to the Viet Nam war with his song "Wish You Were Here, Buddy," considered himself "a partial conscientious objector" during the Korean War. The problem never came up since he wasn't drafted, but he "only objected to shooting guns. I'd go in the front lines as a medic."

When the rights of persons arrested were spelled out in recent U.S. Supreme Court rulings, conservative newspapers and politicians fanned fears that "criminals" will now go free for lack of evidence and that the work of the police has been made unduly difficult. Not so, says the St. Louis Department of Police. In the "Police Journal" the Department advises its officers, "The Department has been using the basic procedure . . . long before the Miranda decision."

On the floor of the House, L. Mendel Rivers (D. S.C.) chairman of the Armed Services Committee, called Harold Howe II, Commissioner of Education, "ignorant . . . a misfit . . . and idiot." Deploring the desegregation guidelines as "destroying" schools and hospitals, Rivers said of Howe, "Mr. Speaker, this man talks like a Communist." A few days later, James H. Quillen (R Tenn.) asked, "Dr. Howe, would you say that your department is an operation of deceit?"

During Subcommittee hearings on the federal role in urban affairs, Senator Abraham A. Ribbicoff, chairman, cited statistics showing that 14,000 rat bites were recorded in the nation in 1965, but only \$27,500 is currently expended for federal aid for rat control.

Each year the St. Louis metropolitan area atmosphere is dirtied with 148,400 tons of particulates. Particulates obscure visibility and soil everything they touch. The smaller ones, which sometimes have other contaminants clinging to them, may enter the lungs. (There are) 446,500 tons of oxides of sulfur. In high concentrations sulfur dioxide, a colorless gas, kills trees and flowers. (There are) 698,000 grams of benzo (a) pyrene. Benzo (a) pyrene is suspected of causing cancer in man. Some estimates show exposure to cancer-causing agents in some large American cities is equivalent to smoking a pack of cigarettes a day. (There are) 1,114,000 tons of carbon monoxide and 373,600 tons of hydrocarbons. Carbon monoxide is a poisonous gas. In auto exhausts in closed garages it is deadly, and in street traffic it dulls the senses. Hydrocarbons combine with oxides of nitrogen under the influence of sunshine to form Los Angeles-type smog.

*From "Polluted Air" published by
the Air Pollution Control Division,
St. Louis County Health Department*

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Letters

Furor In J. C.

F/M: . . . Charles Young's article entitled "Will the Real Lincoln University Please Stand Up" has caused quite a furor in Jefferson City. . . .

Name Withheld
Missouri Official
Jefferson City

The St. Louis Symphony

F/M: Management of the St. Louis Baseball Cardinals would find it inconceivable to have our splendid team on tour without a daily report on the games and the players in the St. Louis papers.

Management of the St. Louis Symphony Society seems to feel that when the orchestra is on tour it must fall into oblivion; no mention is made in the papers of our orchestra and the musicians who are serving as the cultural ambassadors of our city. Again an opportunity has been lost to stimulate interest in the orchestra. The loss is even greater now in that it occurs in the midst of a campaign for the sale of season tickets.

The campaign to sell subscriptions again has lacked vigor and creativity. The telephone campaign managed by the Women's Association of the Symphony Society is a horse and buggy operation in a jet age. Although volunteer efforts are admirable, the Symphony Society should consider seriously the engagement of a professional ticket-selling organization — or to make a sincere effort to make their present system more professional. In addition, they should reconsider the policy of terminating season subscription sales a few days prior to the first subscription concert. In other cities subscriptions can be purchased on a pro-rated basis during the first four weeks of the season.

Statistics show that average box office income of major United States symphony orchestras is slightly over 50 per cent of annual income with ranges occurring between 25 per cent and 79 per cent in the nation's largest symphonies. According to figures published in a 1965 fact book by the Greater St. Louis Arts and Education Council, the box office return for the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra is ap-

proximately 22 per cent of the projected earned income from 1966-67. This is well below the national average.

With the new drive for matching Ford funds about to be launched by the Symphony Society and the continuing drive by the Greater St. Louis Arts and Education Council to complete its goal for 1966, every conceivable effort should be made by the Symphony Society to build an audience.

The public knows no need, no sense of urgency; it knows the seats will be available if it becomes expedient to venture out to the concert hall on an occasional Friday or Saturday night. Apathy is with us again, and the Symphony Society does not seem to be playing an aggressive enough role in trying to eliminate it.

Alberta Slavin
Save Our Symphony Study
Committee, St. Louis

More On Douglas

F/M: Harry Barnard wrote a fine biography of a great Illinois liberal, "Eagle Forgotten," on the life of Governor John Peter Altgeld. But in his recent diatribe against Senator Paul Douglas in FOCUS/Midwest, Barnard has descended to a stale and bitter mish-mash of personal pique and dead issues.

He claims Douglas "went along with McCarthy." This is simply not true. In the key vote to censure McCarthy, Douglas was with the 67 voting for censure, not the 22 against. Anyway, this was in 1954, an issue now?

He drags up a personal letter Douglas wrote him from a Marine station in the South Pacific and attacks Douglas now for having absorbed in World War II the proper Marine combat attitude — a drive to kill the enemy. At heart, although twice wounded himself, Douglas is a Quaker and a lover of peace. And Barnard knows it.

"Like nearly all politicians in Northern states," says Barnard, "Douglas votes correctly on civil rights, medicare, and similar domestic issues. But these no longer are

issues that require Douglas in the Senate."

Well, what a lousy, ungrateful brush-off of a fighting liberal's record. Douglas doesn't vote "correctly" on these issues because he is a politician, but because he has pioneered in these movements: drafted the first old age pension law, helped draft the original U.S. social security act, worked on civil rights when such workers were few indeed, and so on.

No longer issues that require him? How short-sighted. What about truth in lending, truth in packaging, tax loop-holes, effectuating voter rights, ethics in government, military waste, depressed areas, and so on?

Really, Mr. Barnard.
James Monroe, Jr.
Collinsville, Illinois

(Mr. Barnard replied to similar letters in the last issue of FOCUS/Midwest.)

On Job Tests

F/M: J. S. Fuerst's article "Are Job Tests Reliable?" was extremely interesting and has been sent to our City Manager and Personnel Director. (Vol. 4, Nos. 1-2).

Henry A. Cabirac, Director
Human Relations Commission
Phoenix, Arizona

Churchill and Mark Twain

F/M: Just came upon your article "Churchill Invades Westminster" by William E. Parrish — a most excellent piece of very high class reporting. Your readers may be interested in what Churchill wrote me on October 25, 1943, from 10 Downing Street: "I am writing to express my thanks to the Mark Twain Society for their gold medal, which has been handed to me by Mr. Philip Guedalla. It will serve to keep fresh my memory of a great American, who showed me much kindness when I visited New York as a young man by taking the Chair at my first public lecture and by autographing copies of his works, which still form a valued part of my library."

Cyril Clemens
Editor, Mark Twain Journal
Kirkwood, Mo.

Bravo

F/M: Three cheers for FOCUS/Midwest! My awareness that a liberal institution such as yours exists in the conservative Midwest was a most recent and pleasant discovery, (as) I have been away at school in the East for four years.

Donald Kornbelt
St. Louis, Mo.

The Time Has Come, Mayor Daley

For weeks now, Chicago newspapers have carried daily accounts of public officials suspected of collusion with the crime syndicate. When a lull threatens, mobsters spice up matters by a bombing here and there, titillate curiosity by arranging nearly public executions, and, on their kindlier days, send threatening letters to uncooperative officials. The city's public relations office entrusted with the task of killing the memory of Al Capone, fight a losing, pitiful battle.

When men of influence are asked in private why the crime syndicate thrives and exercises such great power, they plead impotence. What can we do, they ask. They do not deny its pervasiveness; its control of the powerful First Ward; its heavy-handed political influence in much of the city and with many of the state legislators and, at least, one federal legislator; its infiltration and sometimes control of state, county, and city commissions; its highly successful business operation, legal and illegal; and its tactics of intimidation, torture, and murder. All of this is accepted as evils that Chicagoans must learn to live with because no one can effectively oppose it and survive.

This is a conclusion of despair and fear. It may also reflect satisfaction with "business as usual." Whatever the motivation, such indulgence is as repulsive as the crimes themselves. It also ignores the successful reforms in other areas. Barney Wander's article on Madison County (Ill.) in this issue proves what a determined executive, an aroused public, and a few honest officials can accomplish.

The Chicago crime syndicate can be cut out of the power structure by public pressure on the chief executive of the city along with a collective decision not to cooperate with the syndicate, to defeat politicians who protect the syndicate, and to press for anti-crime legislation. Inevitably but only then would the law enforcement agencies and the judiciary join the attack on the syndicate's illegal businesses, and its use of terror and bribery.

Richard Daley, the Mayor and the most powerful man in Chicago, has dared to deny the syndicate's existence. When questioned about fellow politicians, well-known as syndicate figures, he parries with an adroitness which belies his bovine personality. After the U.S. Justice Department revealed that investigators, witnessed payoffs to Sam Giancana, the syndicate chief, by a First Ward Democrat, Benjamin Jacobson, and another payoff from Pat Marcy, secretary of the First Ward Regular Democratic Organization, representing a cut of insurance deals made by a firm operated by Jacobson and

Marcy and the First Ward Democratic Committeeman, John D'Arco, the Mayor made the immortal statement: "The leadership of the First Ward is selected by the people of the Ward . . . I know his (D'Arco's) record. I know that there is no law he violated or he would be tried by either the states attorney or the district attorney."

It could be argued that the Mayor is right: the ward leadership is democratically elected and charges against public officials must be documented by conclusive evidence. But as chief slate-maker and major dispenser of patronage — the payroll is crawling with First Ward citizens — the Mayor selects or greatly influences the selection of candidates; and that the evidence is conclusive. Nearly every Chicago attorney can relay personal titbits about when he was approached or knew of underhanded dealings by officials, politicians, or syndicate figures. The evidence waits to be picked up.

Mayor Daley is a power broker. He coordinates the power blocs by splitting the pie of financial and other favors. Since many of these blocs are actually natural enemies and would, without a peacemaker, hamper each other's activities, they benefit from Daley's ability to get the other fellow to agree to what they desire for themselves. In return, they agree to what the other fellow wants and all happily support the Mayor. In consequence, Daley can retain his conditional power and the secondary power of his friends. This arrangement, under which Chicago has made considerable material progress, is warmly embraced by banks, construction companies and their satellites, department stores, politicians, civic organizations, religious institutions, charities, etc. They all profit. Only some of the civil rights groups were left outside this arrangement because they had nothing to offer. This is rapidly changing because they have learned to sell a valuable commodity: peace.

Being natural enemies, the power blocs do occasionally find themselves compelled to attack their table partners. But it is always done without mentioning that Mayor Daley sits at the head of the other fellow's cause no less than their own.

The shortest route to reform is through the Mayor's position as Chicago's only power broker. He has, as the Chicagoan would say, the "clout" not to recognize a trader. He can starve the syndicate. But the very people and organizations that could gently urge the Mayor to take such a stand, are the same people who keep silent because the Mayor told them not to talk with their mouths full.

Yet, the eeriness of impending change in the city's social and political fabric can be sensed. It will come, we believe, not at the polls. It will arise out of the incumbents sense of survival.

Ombudsman For St. Louis

MAYOR Alfonso J. Cervantes announced recently that he will establish the position of ombudsman. We welcome this statement and hope that the Mayor will authorize this official to accept and investigate complaints and make recommendations not only in regard to city departments but also in matters affecting the St. Louis police. (Readers will remember Tom Eichhorst's article "We Need An Ombudsman," which, we can report, was inserted in the *Congressional Record* by U.S. Senator Edward V. Long.)

We expect that the position of St. Louis Ombudsman does not only mean another telephone extension in City Hall. The office should have the authority to investigate independently and the right to make public recommendations.

If the Ombudsman will be able to review police actions — without which the new office will be a trivial gesture — it should meet the demands of those demanding civilian review of police actions.

Prof. Walter Gellhorn, writing in the *Columbia University Forum*, reviews the implications and expectations of civilian police review boards and comes to the conclusion that review boards are needed — but not only for the police. All public officials and institutions should fall under reviews from time to time.

Gellhorn, who has made a world-wide study of ombudsmen, found that existing police procedures "have not made for confidence" and "examples of lawless law enforcement in the United States have been too frequent and too thoroughly documented to be dismissed as the lapses of scattered wrongdoers."

In early 1966 only two wholly independent review boards were maintained, reports Prof. Gellhorn. Philadelphia in 1958 and Rochester in 1963 established such boards. From the beginning they were doubts about their independence. The boards were beset by litigation commenced by policemen's organizations and were at times enjoined from functioning. Most important, their actual performance is spotty.

Gellhorn recommends that a better remedy is "a resolute police administration that will not tolerate offensive conduct." But he continues "to say that responsibility for policemen's manners and methods should rest upon the police themselves is not to say that nobody else need be concerned."

He finds that the civilian review board is not suitable because

"it has come to symbolize and to assume a genuine conflict between the poor — preponderantly made up of ethnic minorities — and public authority. As such it rests on the hypothesis that the police peculiarly and habitually oppress the lowly, who must therefore be provided a trustworthy forum in which their grievances may be heard. Singling

out the police in this manner of course offends them; much more significantly, it ignores many areas of governmental activities that equally concern civilians. . . .

Secondly, the review board system presupposes a polarization — the complainant (and, behind him, the disadvantaged ethnic minority) on one side, the accused policeman (and behind him the policeman's mutual aid organization) on the other — that almost inescapably makes for extremely burdensome procedures. . . .

What is needed, rather, is acceptance of the view that a citizen's complaint about any other public servant, deserves the attention of superior administrators who are intent upon reducing irritations and improving services. If anyone believes that the responsible superiors have not given the desired degree of attention, an outsider's inquiry becomes desirable. The issue then presented is not the guilt or innocence of a particular public servant, but the probity, efficiency, and policies of those who have weighed citizens' allegations about shortcomings or misdeeds. These are to be judged by a review of what the superiors did, not by a trial of what the subordinates are accused of having done. Persons who wish to protest about police operations should indeed be able to bring their protests before a competent authority wholly outside the Police Department. But this should not operate to supplant the Police Department as the primary investigator and decider of charges against its members. . . .

The conclusion emerging from this discussion of police practices is that an official with authority to examine the entire range of municipal administration holds more hope for the future than does a special tribunal for trying citizens' complaints against individual policeman.

The ombudsman concept which Professor Gellhorn so eloquently recommends has the flavor of impartiality, independence, and immediacy for help.

Mayor Cervantes has a pioneering opportunity to avoid unnecessary conflicts, such as is now taking place in New York where the Conservative Party in cooperation with the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association have succeeded in getting a referendum on the city's November ballot to bar lay participation in the newly-formed civilian-controlled review board.

In St. Louis, a review of police actions is of course needed. We would prefer to make it one of the functions of a St. Louis Ombudsman.

Senator Symington At The Crossroads

MISSOURI's Senator Stuart Symington (D.) has moved gradually but inexorably towards a conservative position not much different than that of Senator Everett R. Dirksen.

In this issue, we publish the U.S. Senate voting record on 35 bills voted upon between June 24 and October 5. If we delete the unanimous votes, the votes on which all Senators from Missouri and Illinois agreed, the votes on which Senator Symington was absent, and the Bayh prayer substitute, we are left with 21 votes. On ten of these he took the conservative position, on eleven the liberal.

In contrast, Senator Long left the liberal position only twice. Senator Douglas voted consistently for the liberal alternative.

Let's look in more detail at these 21 votes. Senator Symington voted liberal on three civil rights issues, on one urban renewal bill, and on

seven issues concerning job benefits and minimum wages.

However, he joined Senator Dirksen in opposing summer lunch programs, rent supplements, outlawing patient discrimination, foreign assistance, minimum wages for certain agricultural workers, and on two job benefit issues. He even opposed barring agricultural employment of children of migrant farm workers which Dirksen supported. Symington also endorsed Dirksen's prayer amendment.

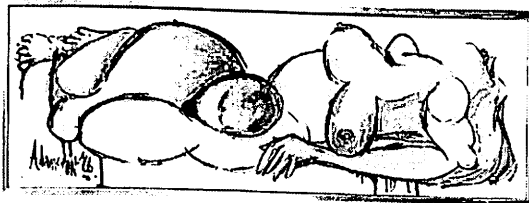
If we misinterpret the Senator's voting record, we would like to be corrected.

Comstockery in Kirkwood

PRESERVATION of the insular quality of White Ghetto life produces incidents that are peculiar — or sick, depending on one's level of distaste for the suburban mentality.

The peculiar (or sick) quality of situations stemming from this womb-building taking place around our cities is not one that dogs us day or night. However, two unrelated incidents occurring recently in one of the finest examples of White Ghetto life — Kirkwood, Mo. — brings the matter to mind. (Kirkwood borders Webster Groves, made famous by CBS.)

Incident One: A nude study exhibited in September at the 15th annual Kirkwood Open Air Art Fair by Gary Adamson was ordered removed by an exhibit official, Mrs. Mary Gronemeyer, because "depictions of the nude figure are not allowed" and because she considered the painting "obscene." The Fair is sponsored by the Association and the Kirkwood Chamber of Commerce.



Incident Two: In October, the Chief of Police of Kirkwood and the City Council successfully scuttled a series of supervised teen-age dances by imposing severe restrictions. The dances were sponsored by the Milius For Congress Committee at the Kirkwood campaign headquarters. William Milius is running for the seat of that exemplar representative of the White Ghetto mentality, Tom Curtis.

The dances at first had been cleared by Kirkwood officials, but when 1,000 recreation-hungry teen-agers showed up for a "Battle Of The Bands" dance, minds changed. The Chief of Police provided the most brilliant restriction, the orchestra must only play — martial music. He reasoned that since the

dances were being held in a campaign headquarters only martial music was suitable.

Later, the City Council lifted the music restriction but other rules remained in force.

The severe restrictions and the presence of a large part of the Kirkwood police force on foot and in patrol cars at the dance had the desired result: few youngsters attended. Plans for future dances were abandoned.

CBS missed the mark by going into Webster Groves. Keystone comedy sprinkled in a documentary on Victorian aesthetics in modern-day Kirkwood, would provide a far more entertaining hour.

Unfinished Business

WHEN the Kansas City Bar Association bestowed their Achievement Award on Irving Achtenberg recently, he gave the dinner guests a few bones to chew upon they didn't expect to get served.

After reviewing the legal and judicial achievements of the past, Achtenberg offered his bill of fare for the years to come.

He recommended revisions in pre-arraignment and pretrial procedure and in the medieval concept of money bail; in the protection of the accused against prejudicial publicity while preserving freedom of the press; and in pretrial detention in the 98 percent of the cases where it is not necessary.

He recommended the growth of professionalism on the part of police; the abolishment of capital punishment; a redefinition of vagrancy so it will no longer be a legislative bill of attainder against the poor and unemployed; the recognition that chronic alcoholism is a disease; concern with the rights of juveniles, the mentally ill, and the convicted who have served their time; a confrontation with the question of therapeutic abortion and the right of man and women to marry regardless of differing races.

"In society's treatment of the poor we must decide if equal protection of the laws and due process are denied by arbitrary residence requirements, midnight raids, and arbitrary denial of benefits on grounds of race, size of family or illegitimacy of children.

We must recognize and concern ourselves with the fact that under present systems of qualifying for welfare benefits the poor have no meaningful legal remedy for arbitrary denial of benefits due to their lack of access to welfare regulations, the lack of hearing opportunities and the denial of appellate review.

In the area of free speech we will defend the right of dissent in those troubled times when its exercise is most important to the democratic process of decision making.

In the area of civil rights we will confront the difficult legal problems of de facto segregation of schools.

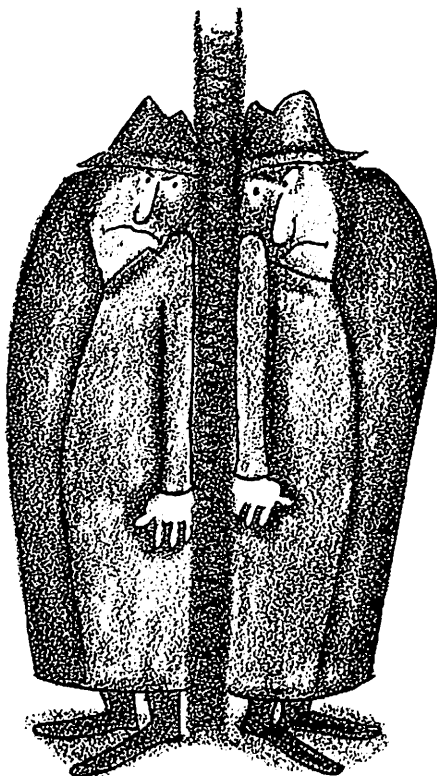
In the field of legislative apportionment we will continue to search for meaningful standards and will seek solutions to the unsolved problems of partisan political gerrymandering and racially discriminatory line drawing.

This is a program of action with which all Missourians, not only lawyers, can identify themselves.

A STUDY OF MADISON COUNTY, ILLINOIS

THE WAR ON GANGSTERISM

Barney Wander



IN the June 14, 1966 Democratic primary election in Madison County, Illinois, two of four slate candidates for county offices, backed by the County's Democratic Central Committee, were defeated.

This was the first time an upset of such grand proportions had occurred in the recent history of the County. The event is the strongest indication yet that the last vestiges of an era of political bossism supported by rampant gambling and galloping vice, coupled with public indifference, were fading in Madison County.

These disappearances, however, have left strange gaps in the political atmosphere in the County and, today, no one is "running the show," for good or bad.

This nebulous situation was preceded by more than 40 years of solidly entrenched, personal politics (without regard to partisanship) backed by gambling.

Madison County's extended and publicly approved marriage between a local political establishment and gambling and vice interests was certainly one of the grossest examples of grotesque government in the nation.

Such was not always the case in Madison County (pop. 260,000), which is part of the St. Louis metropolitan area. The eastern half of the 731-square-mile County is, and always has been, agricultural. A strip through the center of the County is residential, along an axis formed by Edwardsville, the county seat, and Collinsville, two towns of about 15,000 persons each.

The remaining one-third of the County, to the west, is predominantly industrial, with Alton (51,200) and Granite City (48,000) the two major population centers.

Madison County is directly east of St. Louis across the Mississippi River. To the south is St. Clair County, about equal in population and size to Madison County.

The events recorded here for Madison County were mirrored almost exactly in St. Clair County with the exception that county government there has always been largely subservient to political interests in East St. Louis (83,000). In Madison County no single municipality's politicians controlled the county offices. Rather, the reverse was often the case.

Madison County's early political history was rich and exemplary. Ed-

wardsville was the home of eight Illinois governors, including the state's first chief executive and a Civil War period governor who almost single-handedly kept the state in the union.

Alton was the place where Elijah Lovejoy was martyred in the cause for a free press and the location of the final Lincoln-Douglas debate. Shurtleff College, one of the first institutions of higher learning in Illinois, was also located at Alton.

A major industrial center grew up in the Granite City area, which also became a national rail transportation bridgehead for Mississippi crossings.

Stately homes were built in the Edwardsville-Collinsville area, where substantial residential areas were formed.

Gambling Since Founding

Gambling probably existed in Madison County since it was formed. Illinois law has prohibited gambling (except at legal horse racetracks) since 1827. But whatever gambling there was in the County prior to World War I was sporadic, disorganized, and far from a political, economic, or social force.

The one exception was the city of Wood River, which grew rapidly and lawlessly as hundreds of workers moved in to work at new oil refineries. Liquor, whores, and gambling made early Wood River wilder than most towns of the "wild" West.

After the privations of the first world war, the nation "cut loose": jazz, bootleg liquor, a wildly spiraling economic boom, and the "good life" in general.

The Twenties roared in Madison County much the same as elsewhere, and perhaps a bit more so. Prohibition was enforced more strictly in St. Louis than in neighboring Illinois counties. It was at this point that the "east side" began to be regarded as the "sin city" of greater St. Louis.

Industries and railroad yards along the eastern bank of the Mississippi formed a buffer between St. Louis and residential areas of Madison and St. Clair Counties. In addition, transportation on a daily basis across the river was limited and expensive.

These undesirable characteristics, added to the growing unsavory image of the Illinois area, spurred residential and commercial develop-



Frank Buster Wortman won control of Madison County gambling through the leasing of wire services.

ment west of St. Louis rather than east across the Mississippi.

The Illinois part of the St. Louis metropolitan area, then, became stagnant in the sense that there was little migration into the area. It became an entity unto itself rather than just another part of a greater St. Louis area.

Bootleggers and speakeasy operators found that St. Louis was a highly profitable market. There was little attempt to enforce prohibition in the two Illinois counties and illegal operations were usually not one jump ahead of the law, but three or four jumps, given the advantage of tip-offs and police leaks.

Through the ranks of this bootlegging industry came men and organizations who would later play an important role in the area: members of the Shelton and Tipton gangs, Frank "Buster" Wortman, and others. (The case of Frank Wortman is particularly interesting because it was not until after he had served a short sentence in a federal penitentiary that he became a leading voice in the area's underworld. The reason was that Wortman made contacts with underworld elements from Chicago while in prison that he might not have made otherwise.)

It was not long before speakeasy operators discovered that illegal gambling could be just as, if not more, profitable as legal liquor. In 1927, horse racing was legalized in Illinois and horse and dog tracks opened in Madison County. (Some of these tracks were open before the law was passed. In 1930, the Illinois Supreme Court held that the horse racing law did not permit dog racing. This decision was confirmed in 1932. Most dog tracks ceased operations in the early 1930s).

By the end of the 1920s, gambling on a large and organized scale had

become an accepted fact in Madison County. The lush Mounds Club was built in 1929 for Harry Murdock at a cost of \$90,000, an extravagant sum then.

One horse track and two dog tracks were operating full tilt, and every kind of gambling then in vogue was in operation throughout the entire western half of Madison County. The legal horse racing industry had given rise to a large number of illegal off-track bookies.

The stock market collapse and the depression curtailed gambling operations somewhat but not much.

The first of the relatively few attempts by the public to have gambling places closed was made in 1930. Already fed up with their economic lot, the wrath of some of the people turned against gambling operations after C. W. Perchall, a Granite City chain store grocer, was kidnapped by gangsters.

A large segment of the public demanded action and their complaints could no longer be ignored by officials in the Madison County Courthouse.

The result was that two dog race tracks closed (mainly because of the Illinois Supreme Court decision) and the Mounds Club closed from August through the November election when a new sheriff was elected. It then promptly reopened.

The area's reputation as a crime center grew: The Wickersham report in 1931 on crime in America included the East St. Louis area in the nation's four leading crime centers and named the Mounds Club in particular. A Madison County resident felt constrained to mention in a letter to the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* that gambling was not the major industry in the County.

In the early 1930s, horse racing grew in popularity throughout the

United States. Bookie joints became popular hangouts for upstanding and respected citizens.

Then, an important gambling innovation was introduced into Madison County: the racing information service.

Control Through Wire Services

Prior to the installation of such services, a man placing a bet on a horse race in New York state had to wait for a day or over a weekend before he learned the results of the race by newspaper.

The racing information service, using leased telegraph lines throughout the country, made possible instant reporting of the results of each race as it was run at any major track in the country. This innovation picked up the bookie business substantially and — more importantly — it put those who operated the service in control. Bookies could not stay in business without this wire service.

Buster Wortman, using prohibition contacts, became the chief east side representative for this service.

Chiefly through the efforts of Circuit Judge Louis Bernreuter, many gambling places were closed, including the last of the dog tracks, in 1932. When Judge Bernreuter enjoined the dog tracks from their illegal operation, Judge Jessie Brown, also a circuit judge, issued a separate injunction barring police officers from interfering with the tracks. Governor Louis Emmerson alerted the state militia and called Judge Brown (known after the incident as "Dog Track Jessie") by telephone to inform him that he would dispatch the state soldiers to Madison County if Brown's conflicting injunction was not dissolved. It was. Three new judges were elected the following year and the Mounds Club, the



Austin Lewis continued in the ways and byways of his mentor, the late C. W. Burton

Hyde Park Club and others opened again. Gambling was off and running again.

The end of prohibition late in 1933, removed illegal liquor as a major sphere of operations and a source of income for the underworld. As a consequence, a greater emphasis was placed on gambling and those who had been involved in bootlegging turned instead to slot machines, handbook systems, racing information service, lavish gambling houses, and houses of prostitution.

The end of prohibition also provided a legal front for gambling operations — the tavern or club. No longer was an illegal gambling house hiding behind an illegal speakeasy; now it was behind a perfectly legal tavern. The gambling establishments gained a measure of respectability and public tolerance which they did not have during prohibition.

During the next five years, on-again-off-again attempts were made by various persons and organizations to eliminate gambling: there was Irene Kite, a local "Carrie Nation;" the "Law Enforcement League" of the Madison County Ministerial Alliance; citations from the state liquor commission against 375 tavern owners which were never fully prosecuted by anyone; and a vocal but ineffective attempt by Coroner Dr. W. W. Billings who was authorized by law to act in case of the "partiality" or "prejudice" of the sheriff.

In the city of Madison, Mayor Robert Dron fired four policemen — including a chief who had an interest in a gambling establishment — in the process of clamping down on taverns where gambling was carried on. A new sheriff destroyed 50 (out of 500) slot machines and made an attempt to close some county gambling places during 1939.

But these half-hearted attempts

had little long-range effect. Gambling and vice, instead of being stopped, began to acquire a certain sophistication which increased during the 1940s.

The Reign of C. W. Burton

C. W. (Bill) Burton was elected state's attorney for Madison County in 1940. (This term in Illinois designates a county prosecuting attorney who is an employee of the county, not the state, as the term implies.) He devised a unique system of law enforcement regarding gambling which amounted to a merry-go-round where everybody caught a brass ring as long as he could hang on to his horse.

Rarely have gambling operations reached such a level of refinement. Governmental officials had as much interest in the gambling business as the gamblers themselves.

Business was booming: Johnny Connors' Hyde Park Club and Bob Leu's 200 Club were two of the biggest, plushest gambling houses in the County. The Hi-Ho Club was run by Johnny Urban, a former Madison City Police Chief.

But there were those who could not hang on to their merry-go-round mounts. Harry Murdock, operator of the Mounds Club, was one of those who drew the personal ire of State's Attorney Burton. His club was shut down. Murdock opened another place, the Evergreen Gardens, but this was also forced to close. Others lost the brass ring, too: Vic Doyle's place was bombed. The 8800 Club burned to the ground.

How many of these events occurred because of competition within the underworld and how many were the result of personal feuds between the underworld and officialdom is a matter of conjecture. The whole process was so interwoven that there was considerable

overlap between the long arm of the law and the reach of the underworld.

Conditions became so rotten that the U.S. Army complained in 1942. But since law enforcement was up to local officials, even a complaint as highly placed as this one had little effect.

Within particular areas of the County, officials gave unofficial license to places for particular kinds of gambling. Tavern A could run a bookie operation; tavern B could have a policy game; tavern C could offer blackjack downstairs and prostitutes upstairs; and so on. If the operator of tavern B got out of line and opened a couple of blackjack tables in competition with tavern C, the sheriff's office would close tavern B until the owner fell into line or until a new owner, willing to accept the party line, took over.

Many gambling places had "silent partners." Law enforcement personnel, including sheriffs and state's attorneys, were reported to have substantial financial interest in some gambling houses.

Burton's attitude toward gambling is evident from the concluding paragraph of a letter he sent to Democratic Party leaders promoting a dinner to support the straight Democratic ticket:

This is not the first Democratic dinner I have ever sponsored and I hope not the last. In 1948 I sponsored a Democratic dinner party at the Evergreens on the winnings I collected wagering on the straight Democratic ticket in Madison County and I am willing to make the same wager this year.

This letter was written in 1950 after Burton had left office but while he still had a great deal of influence.

Burton avoided criticism by estab-

(Continued on Page 19)

POLITICAL SUPPLEMENT

Congressional redistricting is one of the political factors which will have a bearing on the coming and all later elections. As a service to our readers we present the following reports excerpted from studies prepared by the Congressional Quarterly. (The district descriptions are followed by election forecasts which should not be construed as endorsements.)

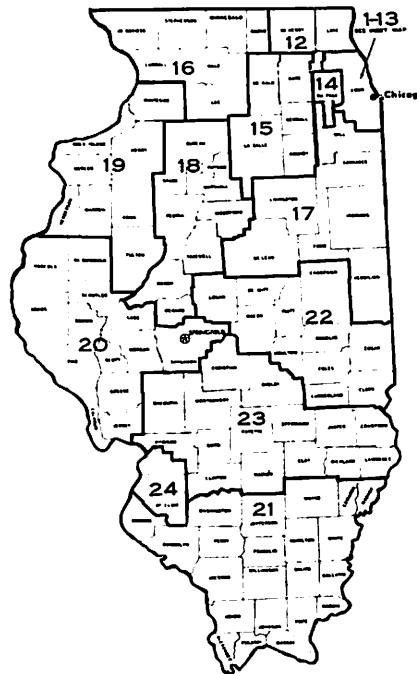
Redistricting And Election Forecasts

Part One: Illinois

CURRENT DISTRICTS



NEW DISTRICTS



Politically, the redistricting apparently will affect only two incumbents. Freshman Rep. Gale Schisler (D), of the 19th District (West Central — Moline, Rock Island), was weakened by the addition of Republican Whiteside County to his district. Rep. George E. Shipley (D) of the formerly marginal 23rd District (East Central), on the other hand, was given a large portion of heavily Democratic Madison County, removing the district from the doubtful category. All other incumbents are expected to win re-election easily despite substantial border changes in many areas.

Judicial History

The Illinois Supreme Court June 4, 1965, ruled that the 1961 Illinois Congressional redistricting was unconstitutional because it did not meet the "one-man one-vote" dictum of the U.S. Supreme Court's 1964 *Wesberry v. Sanders* decision. The suit had been brought by Illinois Treasurer William J. Scott (R). A suit challenging the 1961 Congressional redistricting was pending in U.S. District Court at the time of the state Supreme Court's decision.

In its June 4 decision, the state Supreme Court expressed the hope that Congressional redistricting could be accomplished by the Illinois Legislature which was then in session. But the Legislature June 30 adjourned without taking any action on the redistricting problem. The Legislature was caught up in its own reapportionment difficulties (later resolved by judicial action) and agreement on any redistricting was considered almost impossible between the rurally controlled Republican State Senate, the overwhelmingly Democratic House and Democratic Gov. Otto Kerner.

The state Supreme Court June 24 ordered interested parties to file redistricting plans for consideration by the court since it was evident that

THE Illinois Supreme Court, acting jointly with a three-judge federal panel, Oct. 13, 1965, redistricted Illinois' 24 Congressional districts on a more equitable population basis. The judicial action resulted from the failure of the 1965 Illinois Legislature to enact a valid redistricting plan. Redistricting had occurred last in 1961.

Under the 1961 redistricting act, the current 6th District (Chicago — West Side) had a 1960 population of 278,703 — 33.6 percent below the state district average of 420,048. The 10th District (Chicago — Near West Suburbs), with a 1960 population of

552,582, was 31.6 percent above the state average. Seven other districts had populations that varied by 15 percent or more from the state average.

The court imposed redistricting plan brought all district populations to within 7.5 percent of the state average. The largest district is now the 8th District (Chicago — Central, West Side) with a 1960 population of 451,527 (7.5 percent above the average). The smallest district is the 16th District (Northwest — Rockford) with a 1960 population of 394,481 (6.1 percent below the average).

the Legislature would not pass its own plan. State Treasurer Scott filed what was called the Republican plan while state Attorney General William C. Clark (D) filed a plan supported by Democrats.

The Scott plan, which was drawn with the aid of computers, would have created a new Cook County district for the Republicans and added White-side County to the 19th District. The Clark plan left all Cook County incumbents in both parties in secure districts. The Clark plan also added Democratic areas to the 19th District. Clark complained that Scott's plan contained seven population errors and said, "A computer is only as accurate as the information with which it is supplied."

The state Supreme Court Sept. 10 said that none of the plans presented was entirely acceptable and announced it would give interested parties until Oct. 1 to come up with a mutually satisfactory plan or it would proceed, in conjunction with the three-judge federal panel, to draft its own plan. Chief Judge William J. Campbell of the U.S. District Court subsequently met with Scott and Clark in an effort to obtain agreement on a valid plan. Judge Campbell acted under the pretrial provisions of Rule 16, Federal Rules of Civil Procedure, with the knowledge and approval of the state Supreme Court. Agreement could not be reached by Oct. 1 and both courts proceeded to draft a plan incorporating areas of agreement between Scott and Clark. Both courts jointly announced approval of a plan Oct. 13 and the state Supreme Court Nov. 24 ordered its use for the 1966 general election. Basically, the judicially imposed plan incorporated the Democratic plan for Cook County districts and the Republican plan for Downstate districts.

District Descriptions

COOK COUNTY DISTRICTS (Chicago Metropolitan Area)

The Chicago Metropolitan Area, composed of Cook, Du Page, Kane, Lake, McHenry and Will Counties, had a 1960 population of 6,220,913. The area represents not only one of the nation's largest population centers, but is also the industrial heartland for the entire Middle West. Its excellent transportation links, which include excellent rail facilities and easy access to world shipping via the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence Seaway, have given rise to a great

CURRENT DISTRICTS			NEW DISTRICTS				
District Number	Incumbent	Population*	District Number	Incumbent	Population*	Variation From Average	1964 Congress Vote† Dem. Rep.
Cook County (Chicago) Districts							
1	William L. Dawson (D)	397,324	1	Dawson (D)	409,195	-2.6%	•50.0% •20.0%
2	Barratt O'Hara (D)	363,525	2	O'Hara (D)	425,451	+1.3	•71.0 •29.0
3	William T. Murphy (D)	426,070	3	Murphy (D)	429,267	+2.2	•62.0 •38.0
4	Edward J. Derwinski (R)	516,624	4	Derwinski (R)	415,838	-1.0	•40.0 •60.0
5	John C. Kluczynski (D)	351,023	5	Kluczynski (D)	401,562	-4.3	•60.0 •40.0
6	Daniel J. Roman (D)	278,703	6	Roman (D)	420,109	+0.1	•69.0 •31.0
7	Frank Annunzio (D)	393,209	7	Annunzio (D)	416,712	-0.8	•53.0 •47.0
8	Dan Rostenkowski (D)	483,537	8	Rostenkowski (D)	451,537	+7.5	•66.0 •34.0
9	Sidney R. Yates (D)	428,202	9	Yates (D)	451,042	+7.1	•65.0 •35.0
10	Harold R. Collier (R)	552,582	10	Collier (R)	433,935	+3.2	•43.0 •57.0
11	Roman C. Pucinski (D)	433,491	11	Pucinski (D)	450,881	+7.3	•61.0 •39.0
13	Donald Rumsfeld (R)	503,435	13	Rumsfeld (R)	407,032	-3.1	•38.0 •62.0
Downstate and Northern Illinois (Except Cook County) Districts							
12	Robert McClory (R)	398,192	12	McClory (R)	394,714	-6.0	•40.0 •60.0
14	John N. Erlenborn (R)	503,076	14	Erlenborn (R)	439,182	+1.6	•41.0 •59.0
15	Charlotte T. Reid (R)	410,650	15	Reid (R)	410,650	-2.2	•41.6 •58.4
16	John B. Anderson (R)	393,293	16	Anderson (R)	394,481	-6.1	•43.2 •56.8
17	Leslie C. Arends (R)	387,204	17	Arends (R)	428,519	+2.0	•43.3 •56.7
18	Robert H. Michel (R)	391,237	18	Michel (R)	401,503	-4.4	•44.1 •55.6
19	Gale Schisler (D)	350,515	19	Schisler (D)	410,402	-2.3	•51.0 •49.0
20	Paul Findley (R)	443,443	20	Findley (R)	401,919	-4.3	•44.1 •55.9
21	Kenneth J. Gray (D)	363,196	21	Gray (D)	417,760	-0.5	•63.3 •36.7
22	William L. Springer (R)	373,881	22	Springer (R)	411,332	+5.1	•47.5 •52.5
23	George E. Shipley (D)	443,553	23	Shipley (D)	412,709	-1.9	•58.1 •41.9
24	Melvin Price (D)	457,198	24	Price (D)	415,110	-0.9	•77.1 •22.6

*1960 Census
†Based on the official vote received by Democratic and Republican party Congressional candidates within the area of the new districts.
* Estimated, official figures unavailable.

STATE AVERAGE: 420,048

industrial complex. Almost every product manufactured in the United States is produced in the area.

More than 15,000 factories employing over a million workers are located in the Chicago Metropolitan Area. But Chicago is also the great insurance, banking and real estate center for the Middle West. Wholesaling and retailing (especially through the large mail-order firms located in the city) employ thousands.

Districts 1 through 11 and 13 are located wholly within Cook County. The 12th District contains two Cook County Townships, Barrington and Hanover, in addition to Lake and McHenry Counties. The 14th District is composed of Du Page County and part of Will County. The 15th District and the 17th District have one county, Kane, and part of Will, respectively, in the Chicago Metropolitan Area.

Districts located in the Chicago Metropolitan Area:

1st District

The 1st District (Chicago - South Side) is largely a low-income slum area heavily populated by Negroes. The district is closely controlled by the political machine of Rep. William L. Dawson (D). Dawson, 80, faced a vigorous primary challenge from reform elements in the district, represented by social worker Fred Hubbard (D), 36, but Dawson was renominated. Republican strength in the district is almost non-existent.

Almost complete returns gave Daw-

son 37,014 (60.0 percent), Hubbard 21,506 (34.9 percent). Hubbard was part of a new "Negro offensive" in Chicago that now supports Negro salesman David R. Reed (R), 25, against Dawson.

An important cog in the machine of Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley, Dawson virtually controls politics in the overwhelmingly Democratic district, a largely low-income slum area heavily populated by Negroes. Reed says, "The Democrats can't sell Dawson in this district. He's 80 years old and he's been there (in Congress) for 24 years and he's done nothing for the people. What he has got is organization, and let's be charitable - irregularities at the polls." A Reed aide says Hubbard lost in the primary because "he didn't protect his vote." Reed forces have formed a "New Breed Committee," consisting mostly of young Negroes to combat voter apathy. They are conducting a vigorous doorbell-punching campaign in which they are backed by Percy forces.

"We're interested in building a strong organization," says Reed. "Let's say I don't win but get 40 to 45 percent of the vote. Then we're getting somewhere." Dawson, who is running what observers call "his usual non-campaign," is considered safe. But in their efforts to buck the machine, Reed supporters say they are "going to be around for a long time to come - five, 10 years, as long as it takes." Outlook: Safe Democratic.

2nd District

The 2nd District (Chicago — South Side) is an area of low to high income groups. Important ethnic groups are Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. There is also a substantial Jewish and Negro population. The University of Chicago is located in the district. Incumbent Rep. Barratt O'Hara (D), 84, also faced a serious primary challenge from State Rep. Abner J. Mikva (D), 40, but won renomination narrowly.

O'Hara received 33,789 votes (52.0 percent) and Mikva 31,180 votes (48.0 percent). O'Hara is heavily favored over attorney Philip G. Bixler (R), 60. "I believe that I would be considered ultraconservative, even pre-Cambrian, by the foreign policy and economic advisers to the President," says Bixler. O'Hara generally has supported Administration programs. *Outlook: Safe Democratic.*

3rd District

The 3rd District (Chicago — Southwest) is an area of low income groups but middle and upper income areas are also included in the district, particularly around Evergreen Park and Beverly Hills. Important ethnic groups include Irish, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. The district also includes a significant Negro population. As drawn in 1961, the district was rated Doubtful to Leaning Democratic, but changing population patterns and the 1965 redistricting have made the district safer for the Democrats.

Earlier rated safe in his bid for re-election to a fifth term, Rep. William T. Murphy (D), 67, is caught in a crossfire between open-housing advocates and a "white backlash" in a district that recently was the scene of violent race riots. Negroes comprise about 40 percent of the district, which also includes Irish, Mexican and Puerto Rican groups. Murphy's opponent, former U.S. Asst. Attorney Albert F. Manion (R), 41, a conservative, says anyone should have the right to rent or sell as he likes, but adds that anyone should be able to buy or rent where he can afford. Murphy so far has largely avoided campaigning and could be upset in what is expected to be a close race. Observers say the district is experiencing the strongest "backlash" of any in the state. *Outlook: Doubtful.*

4th District

The 4th District (Southern Cook

County) is an area generally outside the Chicago city limits populated by factory workers and lower income white collar workers. These groups tend to be strongly Republican in voting habits, however, unlike their counterparts in other sections.

Rep. Edward J. Derwinski (R), 39, is heavily favored against Ray J. Rybacki (D), 35, civil servant, in this traditionally Republican district. In 1964, Derwinski defeated Rybacki with a 43,867-vote plurality (58.9 percent.) *Outlook: Safe Republican.*

5th District

The 5th District (Chicago — Central) is populated by low income factory workers, generally of Polish or other second generation European descent. Redistricting apparently reduced the huge Democratic margin in the district, but Democrats remain in a decidedly strong position.

Rep. John C. Kluczynski (D), 70, remains in a strong position and is considered safe against businessman Walter K. Klitz (R), 47. *Outlook: Safe Democratic.*

6th District

The 6th District (Chicago — West Side) gained 141,406 new residents with the redistricting including the suburban city of Cicero—a Republican-voting Czech-Bohemian industrial center of Al Capone days. Negroes are an increasingly influential minority in the district. The district is generally populated by low to middle income factory workers. Despite the addition of Cicero and other Republican areas, Democrats retain a healthy edge in the district.

Freshman Rep. Daniel J. Ronan (D), 52, a liberal, should be able to defeat Berwyn Alderman and engineer Samuel A. Decaro (R), 45, even though the backlash issue and the addition of Cicero and other Republican areas to his district in 1965 have weakened the odds. *Outlook: Leans Democratic.*

7th District

The 7th District (Chicago — Downtown, Loop) includes the famous Loop, the downtown waterfront, West Madison Street (Skid Row) and many slum rooming houses. The somewhat bleak picture, however, is being brightened to some extent by slum clearance and urban renewal projects. DePaul University and the Chicago branch of the Uni-

versity of Illinois are located in the district. The district's population is predominantly Italian but Negroes are of increasing importance. Democrats dominate the district's political affairs.

Freshman Rep. Frank Annunzio (D), 51, is heavily favored against Joseph D. Day (R), 63, insurance broker. In 1962, Day unsuccessfully challenged then-Rep. Roland V. Libonati (D), losing by 63,392 votes (21.2 percent). *Outlook: Safe Democratic.*

8th District

The 8th District (Chicago — Central, West Side) is a low to middle income area with many Poles, Germans and Italians of first or second generation.

Four-term Rep. Daniel D. Rostenkowski (D), 39, faces a difficult re-election race against John H. Lesgynski (R), 46, a taxicab driver making his first race for public office. This largely low- to middle-income residential district contains many who in past elections provided comfortable Democratic majorities. But recent open-housing demonstrations have created a "white backlash" that could cause problems for Rostenkowski, a supporter of amended Administration open-housing proposals. Lesgynski has been making outright appeals to the backlash as "a little man representing little people." He accuses Rostenkowski of being a "rubber stamp" Congressman. *Outlook: Leans Democratic.*

9th District

The 9th District (Chicago — Northeast Waterfront) presents a sharp contrast between the plush upper income housing areas along the lake front (the so-called Gold Coast) to the rundown slums, populated by Negroes, Orientals and poor whites from the South, in the western section of the district. The northern portion of the district contains many Jewish residents.

Rep. Sidney R. Yates (D), 56, who challenged Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen (R Ill.) in 1962 after seven terms and then returned to the House in 1965, is favored over Richard C. Storey Jr. (R), 36, investment broker. Storey has labeled Yates a "rubber stamp" Congressman and is running on a platform favoring "New Republicanism." Storey, a tall, personable

campaigner who bears a first-impression resemblance to New York Mayor John F. Lindsay, is waging the strongest GOP campaign in the district in many years. Yates, however, is an articulate and well-entrenched incumbent. *Outlook: Leans Democratic.*

10th District

The 10th District (Chicago — Near West Suburbs) is a strongly Republican area of upper income suburbs. Redistricting removed 118,647 residents but the district's staunch Republicanism remains unchanged.

Rep. Harold R. Collier (R), 50, a conservative, should win easily over physician Frank J. Jirka Jr. (D), 44, in this staunchly Republican district. *Outlook: Safe Republican.*

11th District

The 11th District (Chicago — North) is an area of middle to upper income residents, many of whom are of Polish extraction. The district was formerly marginal in political behavior, but changing population patterns and energetic representation by incumbent Roman C. Pucinski (D) have produced a secure Democratic edge — at least for Pucinski.

"White backlash" also figures in what is expected to be a close race between Pucinski and attorney John J. Hoellen (R), 52, a City Alderman for 19 years. Hoellen's exploitation of voter reaction against open housing has caused Pucinski, generally a supporter of "Great Society" programs, to introduce legislation "to place reasonable limitations" on demonstrations. Pucinski is playing down his former support of civil rights legislation. Pucinski accuses Hoellen of "trying to work both sides of the street," citing evidence that Hoellen, as a member of the City Council, in April seconded a motion "which would declare a national policy against racial discrimination in sale and rental of all housing." Says Pucinski, "While my opponent urged Congress to put all housing under open occupancy regulation, I supported efforts which excluded home owners of single dwelling homes, two flats, three flats and four flats from the bill (1966 Civil Rights Act)." In this formerly marginal district of middle- and upper-income residents, Negroes comprise less than one percent of the population.

Hoellen has accused Pucinski of

"taking orders from Chicago's City Hall." He is campaigning against the "mushrooming of federal intrusion" and against inflation, which he says "makes a mockery of the promises of the pitchmen of the Great Society." Although redistricting increased normal Democratic strength in the district, the backlash issue could lead to an upset. *Outlook: Doubtful.*

13th District

The 13th District (Cook County — North Suburbs) is an area of middle to upper income suburbs. According to the 1960 Census, the district ranked first in the nation in number of years of education completed, first in family income and had the least unemployment of any district in the country. Redistricting did not change that ranking. Northwestern University is located in the district.

Rep. Donald Rumsfeld (R), 34, strengthened by 1965 redistricting, is considered safe over attorney James L. McCabe (D), 35, a liberal. *Outlook: Safe Republican.*

CHICAGO AREA DISTRICTS OUTSIDE COOK COUNTY

12th District

The 12th District (Northeast — Waukegan) now contains two Cook County Townships, Barrington and Hanover. Both are strongly Republican in voting habits, as are Lake and McHenry Counties, which make up the remainder of the district. Waukegan, with a 1960 population of 55,719, is the district's largest city.

Robert McClory (R), 58, is favored over Herbert L. Stern (D), 51, businessman and attorney, in this strongly Republican district. Stern has criticized McClory's opposition to creation of a Department of Housing and Urban Development, to mass transportation measures and to federal aid to education. Stern denies he will be a "rubber stamp," but added that he is "certainly more in sympathy with the objectives of the 'Great Society'" than McClory. *Outlook: Safe Republican.*

14th District

The 14th District (Suburban Chicago) is made up of Du Page County and part of Will County including the city of Joliet (1960 popula-

tion 66,780). All of Will County was formerly in the district and the part that remains is marginally Democratic. The Democratic majority from the area, however, is outweighed when votes from strongly Republican Du Page County are tallied.

Rep. John N. Erlenborn (R), 49, is expected to defeat Kenneth McCleary (D), 33, Warrenville teacher. *Outlook: Safe Republican.*

15th District

The 15th District (North Central — Aurora) was the only district left unchanged by the redistricting. Aurora, with a 1960 population of 63,715, is the largest city. Kane County, with a 1960 population of 208,246, is included by the Census Bureau in the Chicago Metropolitan Area.

Charlotte T. Reid (R), 52, a staunch conservative, is strongly favored over social worker Selwyn L. Boyer (D), 38, an ardent supporter of "Great Society" programs. Mrs. Reid was first elected in 1962 in place of her husband Frank R. Reid Jr., who had died after winning a tough six-man primary. *Outlook: Safe Republican.*

17th District

The 17th District (East Central — Bloomington, Danville) was given part of Will County under the redistricting. That part added was nominally Republican in voting behavior. The remainder of the district has strongly Republican voting habits. Danville, with a 1960 population of 41,856, is the district's largest city. Bloomington is the site of Illinois Wesleyan University.

Sixteen-term Rep. Leslie C. Arends (R), 71, House Minority Whip since 1943, is heavily favored over securities investigator Bernard J. Hughes (D), 29, of Normal, who lost to Arends in 1964, polling 74,261 votes (43.6 percent). Hughes bills himself as a conservative. *Outlook: Safe Republican.*

OTHER DISTRICTS

16th District

The 16th District (Northwest — Rockford) is a rural agricultural area except for the highly industrial city of Rockford (1960 population 126,706).

John B. Anderson (R), 44, is considered safe against plumber Robert M. Whiteford (D), 47, in this traditionally conservative Republican district. *Outlook: Safe Republican.*

18th District

The 18th District (North Central — Peoria) is a rich agricultural area with substantial industry centered chiefly around Peoria, (1960 population 103,162.)

Robert H. Michel (R), 43, faces unusually energetic opposition from attorney Thomas V. Cassidy (D), 33, a member of a prominent Peoria family. *Outlook: Leans Republican.*

19th District

The 19th District (West Central — Moline, Rock Island) is dominated by three medium-sized cities — Rock Island (51,863); Moline (42,705) and Galesburg (37,243).

The addition of Republican Whiteside County to the district has clouded the already doubtful prospects for Democratic freshman Rep. Gale Schisler's re-election. In the old district, Schisler was elected with a 7,510-vote (52.4 percent) plurality. Within the area of the new district, the Democratic plurality drops to 3,653 votes (51.0 percent). Under the 1961 redistricting act, the district was designed to be marginally Republican in all but Democratic landslide years.

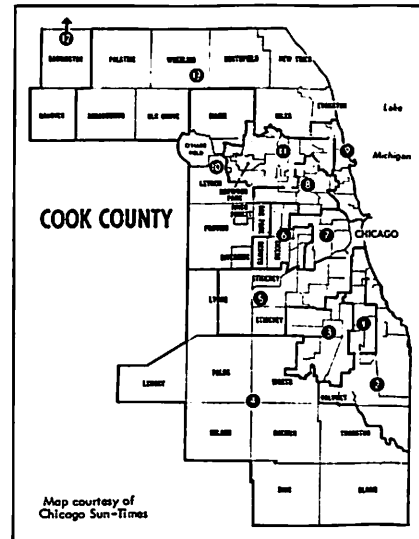
Schisler's opponent is state Rep. Thomas F. Railsback (R), 34, who won widespread commendation for his work in the state Legislature. Both candidates were unopposed in the state primary. Schisler received 17,923 votes and Railsback 30,332 votes. Despite energetic campaigning and careful attention to the district's needs, Schisler is rated the underdog in this race. *Outlook: Leans Republican.*

20th District

The 20th District (West Central — Springfield, Quincy) is dominated by two cities, Springfield (83,271), the state capital, and Quincy (43,793).

The incumbent is Rep. Paul Findley (R), who enjoys a substantial personal popularity in the district. Otherwise, the district might well go Democratic — at least in Democratic years.

Findley is opposed by attorney and



engineer Richard R. Wolfe (D), 32, an advocate of Great Society programs, who has attacked Findley for "his retreat into the past." *Outlook: Safe Republican.*

21st District

The 21st District (South) is a rural depressed area which has greatly suffered from the decline of coal mining. The largest city in the district, Carbondale, had a 1960 population of only 14,670.

Two rural cotton growing counties in the extreme southern end of the district, Alexander and Pulaski, have a large Negro population — unlike other rural farm counties in the Middle West.

Rep. Kenneth J. Gray (D), 41, faces easy re-election over former state Rep. Robert Beckmeyer (R), 46, a businessman, in this heavily Democratic district. *Outlook: Safe Democratic.*

22nd District

The 22nd District (Central — Decatur, Champaign-Urbana) has three medium-sized cities. Champaign, with a 1960 population of 49,583, is often grouped together with its neighbor, Urbana (27,794), as one city. The University of Illinois is located there. Decatur (78,004) is the third city.

William L. Springer (R), 57, is heavily favored over physicist Cameron B. Satterthwaite (D), 46, a liberal and a member of the NAACP and the Urban League. Satterthwaite has accused Springer of being in-

effectual, claiming Springer obtained passage of only two of 73 bills introduced during his 16 years in the House. *Outlook: Safe Republican.*

23rd District

The 23rd District (South Central — Alton) runs from the Indiana border on the east to the Missouri border on the west. Alton, added to the district, is the largest city with a 1960 population of 43,047.

The addition of the northern half of Madison County will greatly strengthen the re-election bid of Rep. George F. Shipley (D), who has been a frequent object of major Republican campaigns to win the seat. Shipley was re-elected in 1964 with a 19,951-vote plurality (54.6 percent) in the old district. Within the new district, the Democratic edge was 32,183 (58.1 percent).

Despite the addition of new Democratic voters, however, Shipley could be endangered by an unusually effective campaign being waged by State Rep. Leslie N. Jones (R), 68, of Flora. Jones, a distinguished looking white-haired man, is a former general counsel for the Illinois Bell Telephone Company. He is reportedly making inroads on Shipley's normal strength. Jones takes a conservative position on most — but not all — domestic issues. He opposes rent supplements for instance, but says he would have voted for the recent minimum wage increase. He favors more decisive U.S. military action in an effort to bring the Viet Nam war to a speedy conclusion.

Shipley, a supporter of "Great Society" programs, was the beneficiary of a visit by President Johnson earlier in the campaign. He is generally favored. *Outlook: Leans Democratic.*

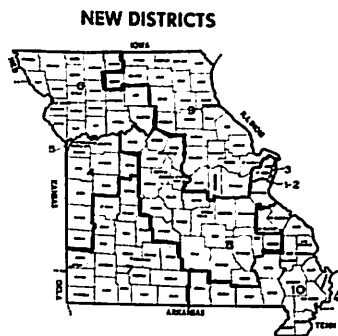
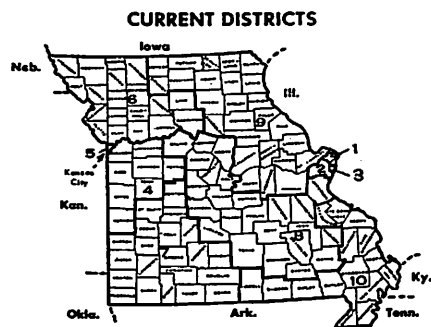
24th District

The 24th District (Southwest — East St. Louis) is composed of St. Clair County and the southern part of Madison County. The district is heavily industrialized and overwhelmingly Democratic. East St. Louis, located across the Mississippi River from St. Louis, Mo., is the district's largest city.

Melvin Price (D), 61, is expected to retain the seat he has held 21 years against a challenge by John S. Guthrie (R), 32, Shiloh Valley building contractor. *Outlook: Safe Democratic.*

Redistricting And Election Forecasts

Part Two: Missouri



District Number	Incumbent	Population*
1	Frank M. Karsten (D)	466,482
2	Thomas B. Curtis (R)	506,854
3	Leonor Kretzer Sullivan (D)	480,222
4	William J. Randall (D)	418,981
5	Richard Bolling (D)	378,499
6	W.R. Hull (D)	388,486
7	Durward C. Hall (R)	436,933
8	Richard H. Ichord (D)	432,385
9	William L. Hungate (D)	409,369
10	Paul C. Jones (D)	381,602

District Number	Incumbent	Population*	Variation From Average	1964 Congress Vote [†]
				Dem. Rep.
1	Karsten (D)	475,667	+10.4%	74.5% 25.5%
2	Curtis (R)	460,301	+ 6.6	45.7 54.3
3	Sullivan (D)	469,888	+ 8.8	74.0 26.0
4	Randall (D)	402,326	- 6.8	63.9 36.1
5	Bolling (D)	406,067	- 6.0	65.5 34.5
6	Hull (D)	394,236	- 8.7	64.5 35.5
7	Hall (R)	425,820	- 1.4	48.1 51.9
8	Ichord (D)	443,747	+ 2.7	65.5 34.5
9	Hungate (D)	451,121	+ 4.4	63.0 37.0
10	Jones (D)	390,240	- 9.7	67.2 32.8
		STATE AVERAGE 431,981		

*1960 Census.

†Based on the actual vote received by Democratic and Re-

publican Congressional candidates within the area of the new districts.

THE Missouri General Assembly June 30, 1965, completed action on a bill redistricting the state's 10 Congressional districts on a more equitable population basis. The state, which was under federal court order to revise the districts, had redistricted last in 1961. A three judge federal court Aug. 6, 1966, ruled the 1965 redistricting unconstitutional but allowed its use in 1966.

Under the 1961 redistricting bill, the 2nd District (Suburban St. Louis County) had a 1960 population of 506,854 or 17.3 percent above the state average district population of 431,981. The 5th District (Kansas City) had a 1960 population of only 378,499.

The 1965 redistricting plan brought all districts to within 10.4 percent of the state average. The 1st District (North St. Louis County and Suburbs) is now the state's largest with a 1960 population of 476,988. The rural 10th District (Southeast) is the state's smallest district with a 1960 population of 389,880.

Politically, the 1965 redistricting apparently will have little effect on the 10 incumbents, eight Democrats and two Republicans. The most significant feature of the redistricting was the addition of 47,500 residents of urban St. Louis County to the largely rural 9th District (Northeast).

Legislative History

A three-judge federal court Jan. 4, 1965, ruled Missouri's 1961 redistricting plan unconstitutional and ordered the General Assembly to revise the districts to meet the Supreme Court's "one-man, one vote" dictum.

In mid-March 1965, the Missouri Senate passed a Congressional redistricting plan which kept population variances to within 7.5 percent of the state average. But the Missouri House, caught up in its own reapportionment problems, failed to consider the Senate-passed plan until June 17, when a House committee reported a plan which was similar to the final plan adopted in that it made few changes in existing districts. (To get district populations to within 7.5 percent of the state average, the Senate plan included a complete overhauling of existing district lines.) Several days later, the House passed its own committee version and a Senate-House conference committee was appointed to work out differences.

The chief difference between the two plans involved the number of St. Louis County residents to be included in the largely rural 9th District of freshman Rep. William L. Hungate (D). Under the Senate version, 147,524 St. Louis County resi-

dents were placed in the 9th District. Hungate objected to the inclusion of so many new residents in his district and the House version reduced the number of persons added to 47,500 — the figure which was then included in the final bill. Hungate and others feared that the St. Louis County area included in his district would quickly become the dominant area because of its rapidly expanding population.

Both houses passed the conference committee's compromise plan on June 30, and the plan was signed into law Aug. 6 by Gov. Warren E. Hearnes (D). The final plan made few changes in existing district lines, in many cases shifting only one small county from one district to another.

District Descriptions

ST. LOUIS METROPOLITAN AREA

The St. Louis Metropolitan Area, with a 1960 population of 2,060,103 (including two counties in Illinois), includes the 1st through 3rd District, and part of the 9th District. The city of St. Louis, with a population of 750,026, is a highly diversified industrial center and is known as the "Gateway to the West." Located at the point where the nation's two longest rivers, the Mississippi and Missouri, converge, St. Louis quickly became a major transportation center.

Districts located within the St. Louis Metropolitan Area:

1st District

The 1st District (North St. Louis County and City) is made up of Negro and middle-class areas and is strongly Democratic.

Ten-term Rep. Frank M. Karsten (D), 53, is heavily favored over Robert L. Sharp (R), 41, a spacecraft engineer who polled 4,389 votes (67.0 percent) against attorney Morris M. Hatchett (R) in the GOP primary. The district lost several heavily Democratic areas in 1965 redistricting action but gained Democratic Airport Township. *Outlook: Safe Democratic.*

2nd District

The 2nd District (St. Louis Suburbs) has been made more Republican by the loss of Airport Township. It is composed of high- and middle-income suburbs surrounding St. Louis. The politically marginal 12th St. Louis Ward was added to the district but was located in the

district prior to the 1961 redistricting.

Thomas B. Curtis (R), 55, for a ninth term was strengthened by the loss of Democratic Airport Township. The addition of the marginal 12th St. Louis ward should have little effect in the present race, since it was in the district before 1961 redistricting. Curtis' opponent is William B. Milius (D), 38, former Clayton alderman who has served with the Federal Maritime Commission, the Business and Defense Administration of the Commerce Department and the Area Redevelopment Administration. Milius was a speechwriter for Gov. Warren G. Hearnes (D Mo.) in 1964. *Outlook: Safe Republican.*

3rd District

The 3rd District (Downtown St. Louis) remains strongly Democratic. It is made up of low-and middle-income areas and has a significant Negro population but the latter continues split between the 1st and 3rd Districts.

Rep. Leonor K. Sullivan (D), 63, is heavily favored to win re-election to an eighth term against Homer McCracken (R), 64, a pharmacist and unsuccessful candidate for the state House in 1964. McCracken says he is running to combat waste and extravagance in government and urges more decisive action in Viet Nam. *Outlook: Safe Democratic.*

9th District

The 9th District (Northeast) includes 47,500 residents of St. Louis County but already included St. Charles County which was part of the St. Louis Metropolitan Area. The new residents of the 9th District tend to be staunchly Democratic in voting behavior. The remainder of the district is largely small-town and rural.

Freshman Rep. William L. Hungate (D), 43, faces Anthony C. Schroeder (R), 42, a Union realtor who overcame minor opposition to win his fifth GOP nomination for Congress. Schroeder advocates "agricultural freedom, constitutionality, tough foreign policy and sound money." He is given little chance of upsetting Hungate. *Outlook: Safe Democratic.*

KANSAS CITY METROPOLITAN AREA

The Kansas City Metropolitan Area, with a 1960 population of 1,039,439 (including two counties in Kansas), includes the 5th District and parts of the 4th and 6th Districts. The

central city had a 1960 population of 475,539. Like St. Louis, Kansas City owed its early rise to prominence to its central location on the Missouri River. Unlike St. Louis, however, Kansas City developed more as the marketing and processing center for the Middle West's abundant agricultural and livestock production than it did for heavy industry.

Districts located within the Kansas City Metropolitan Area:

4th District

The 4th District (West — Kansas City, Independence) includes all of Jackson County, except for most of Kansas City, and several rural counties to the South. Independence is the home of former President Truman.

Rep. William J. Randall (D), 57, is considered safe against the conservative challenge of Forest Nave Jr. (R), 59, Lexington farmer. While Randall generally supports Administration policy in Viet Nam, Nave says that "the American people should begin minding their own affairs and keep out of 'brush fire' wars and international 'dog fights.'" Nave is campaigning against "the taking over of family-type farms by feed companies, packers and chain stores. He proposes return of 10 percent of all federal individual and corporate income taxes to the states. *Outlook: Safe Democratic.*

5th District

The 5th District (Kansas City) includes most of the city of Kansas City. It is made up of the downtown business areas, mixed residential areas and the North Side Democratic organization "delivery wards" which were important to the famed, but discredited, Pendergast political machine.

Richard Bolling (D), 50, is heavily favored in this strongly Democratic district, but his outspoken support of open housing legislation could turn up a mild "white backlash," narrow his 1964 margin of 48,407 votes (67.9 percent). Bolling's opponent is Willis E. Salyers (R), 34, an engineer and political unknown. *Outlook: Safe Democratic.*

6th District

The 6th District (Northwest — St. Joseph) is included in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area because of fast-growing Clay County which has nearly one-fourth of the district's population. St. Joseph, with a 1960 population of 79,673, is the district's largest city.

W. R. Hull Jr. (D), 66, a conservative six-term veteran, can be expected to draw a sizable bloc of Republican votes as in previous elections to defeat John L. Leims (R), 45, Parkville, a plant manager. *Outlook: Safe Democratic.*

7th District

The 7th District (Southwest — Springfield, Joplin) includes most of Missouri's Ozark Mountains. Springfield, with a 1960 population of 95,865, is the district's largest city. The publication of religious literature is an important city industry.

The district has a strong Republican edge but is greatly influenced by national voting trends. Incumbent Durward G. Hall (R), a staunch conservative, narrowly won re-election in 1964 when the district voted for President Johnson. Having survived 1964, however, Hall should continue to win re-election unless significant opposition develops within his own party.

Arch M. Skelton (D), 34, Springfield attorney, is the challenger. *Outlook: Safe Republican.*

8th District

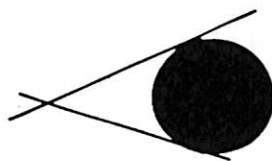
The 8th District (Central — Jefferson City, Columbia) is largely rural and agricultural and includes part of the Ozark Mountains. Columbia, with a 1960 population of 36,650, is the district's largest city. It is the site of the huge University of Missouri and several other colleges but has few industries. Jefferson City, with a 1960 population of 28,228, is the state capital.

Rep. Richard H. Ichord (D), 40, holds the edge over Eugene Mayor Ben Rogers (R), 50, after defeating a professional engineer, William D. Hardin (D), by a nearly 4-1 margin in the Democratic primary. Rogers narrowly defeated Arthur A. Branson (R), of Rolla, in the GOP primary. *Outlook: Safe Democratic.*

10th District

The 10th District (Southeast) contains Missouri's Delta area and is much like the plantation South. Negroes are not numerous although cotton growing is very important. There are no large or medium-sized cities.

Rep. Paul C. Jones (D), 65, who entered the House in 1948, easily won renomination in a three-man primary contest and is favored in the general election against William Bruckerhoff (R), 49. *Outlook: Safe Democratic.*



THE RIGHT WING

An earlier issue of FOCUS/Midwest (Vol. III, No. 6/7) carried a "Roster of the Right Wing and the Fanatics" describing 45 organizations located or active in the Illinois-Missouri area. This column, "The Right Wing," will keep our readers abreast of new developments. Together with the "Roster" it offers an up-to-date service. Copies of "The Roster" are available at \$1.00 each.

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

The Rev. Russell D. Carnagey, Alhambra, Illinois, is president of the American Council of Christian Churches of Greater St. Louis. The founder of the Council is Dr. Carl McIntire, shrill anti-Catholic — except if the Catholic happens to belong to the John Birch Society.

YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM

Michael W. Thompson, a sophomore at the University of Missouri at Columbia, has been appointed Midwest Regional Representative. He will cover 13 Midwest states. He is also the Missouri YAF chairman.

JEWISH SOCIETY OF AMERICANISTS

The JSA, which is an offshoot of the John Birch Society, was formed by Samuel Blumenfeld, an employee of the Birch Society, and Alan Stang, author of a book linking the civil rights movement with communism. In St. Louis, Dr. Barney W. Finkel of St. Louis has been named chairman of the doctors' committee of the JSA. Finkel is the editor of *News and Views* published by the St. Louis Academy of General Practice. Finkel and another St. Louisan, Charles J. Hartman, are members of the national advisory board of the JSA. Hartman is the Midwest Regional Director of the JSA. (Hartman should not be confused with other individuals of similar name in St. Louis.)

JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

The JBS now has 340 American Opinion book stores operating throughout the country.

Page Eighteen

KKK

A group of young militants split from a South St. Louis County Ku Klux Klan klavern. Recently, KKK literature has been distributed at various suburban shopping centers. Several St. Louis klansmen went to Chicago in September, reports the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, to assist Nazi Rockwell in his anti-civil rights demonstrations.

VOICE OF AMERICANISM

This Glendale, California, organization broadcasts throughout the Midwest. It provides tape recordings (for home, church, lodge, etc.) on communist penetration of church councils, prayers for patriotic occasions, anti-communism, and so forth. Its film strips are for sale. They include "Civil Riots USA" and "The Berkeley Revolution." VOA also offers the free services of a speaker booking agency.

If an existing church ignores a member's request for a minister "who is true to the traditions of your denomination, and when the local church cannot be controlled by its members and therefore engages in relationships which you feel are un-American" the VOA recommends affiliation with its "Church in Your Home" ministry. For the more aggressive church goer who would like to oust his minister, the VOA supplies the names of available ministers who "are both gifted and patriotic." (FOCUS/Midwest will publish the list in the coming issue.) Head of the VOA is Dr. McBirnie, pastor of The United Community Church in Glendale.

FOCUS/Midwest Is A Perfect Holiday Gift. See Back Page Offer.



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Plan 3	\$17.50
offers, above, plus your choice of seasonal attractions (Cardinal Football, Baseball, Opera, etc.)	per person (double occ.) (Single occ. \$26.50)

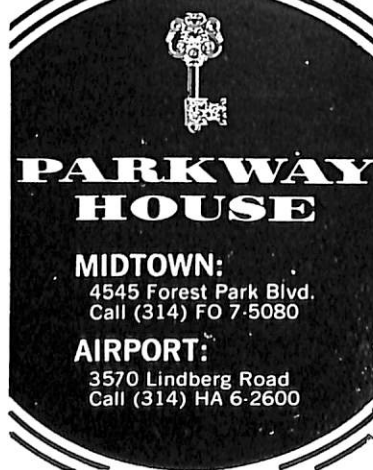
RENAISSANCE ROOM CORINTHIAN ROOM



Midtown



Airport



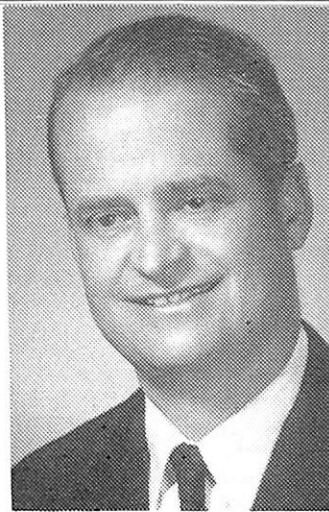
FOCUS/Midwest

(far right)

Judge James O. Monroe, Jr. was a key figure in cleaning up the County.

(right)

Dick Mudge, Jr. bombarded gambling casinos with his pledge of closing them.



(Continued from Page 10)

lishing a system of fines. About every three months a gambling place could expect to be temporarily closed and would send one of its employees (a different one each time to avoid jail terms for "repeaters") to the courthouse at Edwardsville to pay a fine. Burton was probably the biggest fund raiser for the county school fund in the history of Madison County. The amount of the fines was systematically rigged to keep the school fund fat and to suit the personal predilections of Burton.

During this time, the chief executive in Springfield, Gov. Dwight Green, had adopted a more than tolerant attitude toward state-wide gambling interests. There was no pressure from the state capitol.

On Oct. 21, 1947, Burton's house was bombed. The crime was never solved. The following year he decided not to run for a third term as state's attorney, and Austin Lewis, once Burton's rival but then his assistant, was elected with Burton's blessing. Burton remained active as Lewis' mentor and the merry-go-round system of quarterly fines continued. (Lewis later became county public defender and still later was elected a circuit judge in 1964. Having freed himself from a political trap, he is now highly respected for his judicial abilities, particularly his knowledge of criminal law.)

In 1948, Illinois voters, for several reasons including dissatisfaction with corruption under the Green administration, elected Adlai Stevenson as governor.

Stevenson Orders Raid

On May 12, 1950, the Madison County merry-go-round temporarily stopped.

Gov. Stevenson had warned local politicians that he was not going to tolerate the continuance of gambling in Madison and St. Clair counties.

This warning was relayed in its full severity to St. Clair County officials who, for the time being, closed gambling establishments. The warning was not given as strongly to Madison County officials. (This warning was conveyed from Gov. Stevenson to local officials by a state central committeeman who apparently was friendly with St. Clair County officials but had a personal axe to grind with Madison County; hence the difference in degree between the warnings given the two counties.) State's Attorney Lewis (with Burton) and Sheriff Dallas T. Harrell took the warning as just another of a string of such warnings that had issued from Springfield in the past. There was, therefore, no large-scale shutdown in Madison County.

Gov. Stevenson then made his move and a small army of state police, at the governor's personal direction, shut down the Hyde Park Club and the 200 Club on May 12, 1950. More than 400 persons were arrested. This time the lid had not only been clamped down but had been soldered shut as well. Individual municipalities, acting partly from a desire to protect their images in the face of a reform movement at state level and partly from guilt feelings, conducted their own gambling clean-ups. This was the first time in the history of the United States that a state police force had been used for such direct local intervention. The action put Stevenson's name in headlines across the country and spurred governors in other states to take similar actions. The legality of the action was indirectly contested but was held to be as legal as it was warranted.

In 1951 U.S. Sen. Estes Kefauver focused national attention on the gambling situation in Madison County when his Crime Investigation

Committee held several sessions in the County and heard testimony from local persons.

The furor of the Stevenson raids and the Kefauver investigation died down after a while, of course, and the gambling business started to come into its own again. Something so strongly entrenched could not be uprooted so easily. It would be another seven years before the mad merry-go-round, now somewhat slowed, was to finally grind to a halt and be dismantled.

Mudge, Simon, and Monroe

Three men had great influence on the final disassembly: Dick H. Mudge, Madison County State's Attorney from 1956 to 1964; Paul Simon, newspaper publisher and member of the state legislature for 12 years; and James O. Monroe Jr., a circuit judge for the past 10 years.

Dick Mudge flew 80 missions as a fighter pilot in World War II, was shot down once, was a prisoner of war for one year, came back to his Edwardsville home and took up the peaceful practice of law for 11 years.

Then he set out to do battle again. This time the foe was corrupt politics and gambling. Mudge puts it this way: "In order to eliminate the source of money by which a small group of politicians controls a corrupt government, you've got to stop gambling."

Mudge climbed back in his airplane during the 1956 primary campaign and "bombed" the Club Prevue with 8,000 pamphlets promising to close the gambling house if he was elected state's attorney. In one of the hardest fought campaigns in the history of Madison County politics, Mudge won the Democratic primary election from Austin Lewis by 3,000 votes. The County Democratic organization in the final election shifted its support to the Republican candi-



Senator Paul Simon forced the Democratic party to join him.

THE WAR ON GANGSTERISM

date but could not stop Mudge's general election victory.

The new state's attorney did what he had promised and gambling came to an abrupt halt in the County. He had another tough battle for reelection in 1958 but won again. He left the state's attorney's office in 1962 to resume private law practice, leaving the County gambling-free.

Some people considered Mudge the "bad guy" of the whole gambling clean-up because, following the law, he had closed down their church bingo games, their Knights of Columbus slot machines, and their social and fraternal and American Legion and similar club back-room gaming and gambling operations. People had become so conditioned to gambling as a way of social life that Mudge was castigated by upright citizens for having upheld the state law.

Paul Simon became one of the nation's youngest newspaper publishers when, at 19, he took over the *Troy Tribune*, a small Madison County weekly. Although the paper's circulation was small, Simon waged a vigorous anti-gambling crusade from 1948 through 1950. He appeared before the Kefauver Committee in 1951 and was elected to the Illinois House of Representatives against strong Democratic Party opposition in 1951 although he himself was a Democrat. This election was considered the first major upset of the Democratic Party in Madison County and was done almost entirely on reform issues. Paul Simon became the symbol around which anti-gambling forces united in the early 1950s.

After serving four two-year terms in the house, he was elected to the state senate and is now running unopposed for his second term there. The County Democratic organization

was eventually forced to join Paul Simon, not vice versa.

Judge Monroe drew attention to the gambling situation in a brilliant series of articles published in 1951 in the *Collinsville Herald* and then separately in 1952 as a pamphlet titled "Everybody Loses." (This writer has depended heavily on Judge Monroe's analysis of gambling in Madison County prior to 1950.) This pamphlet was widely republished in the state and was even broadcast over radio stations.

Monroe was one of the more influential lawyers and judges in instituting court reforms — first the abolition of an obsolete system of justices of the peace and then the complete overhaul of the Illinois judicial system. Mudge also played a major part in the revision of the state's criminal laws.

It was during the 1950s that the dismantling of the merry-go-round was finally accomplished, through the efforts of men like those mentioned above and others, principally including State Police Captain Emil Toffant, who still heads the state police forces in the Madison-St. Clair County area. There have been several underworld attempts to have Toffant moved from his post, but the captain has always been able to outmaneuver his opponents. Beyond this, he has kept a watchful eye on gambling and vice in the area, and it is largely because of the possibility of state police intervention that county and municipal police organizations have kept their areas "clean" in recent years.

One of the factors which had permitted the 40-year reign of gambling and hoodlumism in Madison County was an outright failure of the local press.

There were two daily newspapers in the County: The *Edwardsville In-*

telligencer and the *Alton Evening Telegraph*. Both papers ignored the whole problem. The *Intelligencer* was busy printing lottery and policy tickets. The publisher of the *Telegraph* was convinced that as long as the gambling interests were local, and kept local by the law enforcement officials, things were all right. He only feared "gangsters from Chicago or elsewhere." The outside involvement was apparently well hidden from the *Telegraph*. The posture of both papers changed dramatically in the 1950s and the current watch-dog attitude of the press, mainly that of the *Telegraph*, is a strong deterrent to gambling.

The underworld was truly non-partisan. Before Franklin Roosevelt, Republicans were in control; after, the Democrats took over. Hoodlums would often support both Republican and Democratic candidates to be certain that no matter who won, the victor would owe favors. Gambling flourished equally well under both parties.

Gambling operations provided many high-paying patronage jobs, which insured that political organizations were well financed. There were exceptions. One mayor of Collinsville was offered \$1,000 a week to overlook gambling operations. He didn't, and stopped gambling in Collinsville once and for all in 1951.

Today, the Madison County government-gambling merry-go-round isn't turning anymore. It no longer exists.

Reforms in law enforcement, including removing judges from politics and placing the state police on a merit system, are key factors in keeping the state's attorney's and sheriff's offices from spawning personal power. Today, both are officers of a non-partisan court, and the County can

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no longer be run by these office-holders.

Politics Without Direction

In Madison County, however, the disappearance of gambling as the major force underwriting political power has led to another problem: the lack of any central political power.

In the first place, the stakes of political control have changed — they are not nearly as big anymore. Patronage jobs are limited to low-scale jobs instead of big-deal illegal rackets.

Secondly, no municipal political leader has been able to dominate County politics as East St. Louis Mayor Alvin G. Fields has been able to do in St. Clair County.

While Madison County has changed, St. Clair County appears to be much the same. In 1966, the sheriff won two cars at an illegal lottery run by the Knights of Columbus. The state's attorney failed to file an information and passed the buck to the grand jury. The grand jury failed to return an indictment. The villain was made out to be the complaining witness who wanted the sheriff prosecuted.

Mayor Stephen Maeras of the small city of Madison has been trying for some time to control county politics

and is regarded as the head of Madison County's Democratic Party but his influence is limited, particularly in the Alton area. The mayors of the County's two largest cities, Granite City and Alton, have not made any attempt to control County politics.

Rivalries between the County's population areas have kept any one man from being acceptable to all. Although the population is growing rapidly, most natives of the area regard the County as a collection of isolated municipalities and feel little loyalty to the County as a whole. As cities and population centers fuse, and as migration into the County increases, this attitude may change.

Another major factor inhibiting the centralization of power is the structure of county government. There is a legislative branch, the board of supervisors; a judicial branch, the circuit court; but no executive branch. The duties of an executive officer are divided between the courts, the county clerk's office, and committees of the board of supervisors.

The board in Madison County is non-partisan, rurally oriented and does not adequately represent the more important urban areas of the County.

Even though the County is undergoing an extended real estate and subdivision boom (a natural consequence of completion of new interstate highways and Mississippi bridges) builders and realtors have not been able to become a dominant political influence. Again, rivalries between organizations and geographic areas prevent such dominance.

Despite the fact that the County is heavily industrialized, none of the labor unions has been able to exert strong political influence, again because of rivalries between unions that have become severe and almost bloody. It has become a matter of course that any major jurisdictional

dispute or strike in Madison County will be accompanied by bombings, shotgun blasts, and street fights. The circuit court is almost a parade ground for warring unions or management and unions seeking injunctions against one another.

There is no question that the Democratic Party is the dominant political organization in the County, but when a party which has a better than 3-1 plurality cannot elect more than half of its slate backed candidates in a primary election, as happened this year, there is an obvious lack of leadership.

The basic problem facing Madison County today is really the same as it was in the 1940s and 50s. As Judge Monroe pointed out in his pamphlet, the county's preoccupation with gambling distracted attention and resulted in inactivity on many important matters.

Today's lack of political leadership has not changed this inactivity. The gambling cure did not change the basic malady. The answer lies in reapportionment of the county board on an equitable basis, a change in the structure of the county's government to include an executive official responsible to all the people, and enough incentive for honestly motivated, qualified candidates for office.

Until these events occur, the likelihood of another gambling era is always a possibility, albeit a faint one.

In Madison County, King Gambling is dead. The next question is: Long live who — or what?

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THE LIBERAL

THE confrontation in America of a renewed radical left, formed principally of alienated Negro and student groups, with an honored and tradition-bound liberal establishment centered in government, the universities, and labor unions has been most traumatic for the liberal in its relentless denial of some of his most cherished conceptions of himself.

Nurtured by the social sciences and thirty years of electoral success, the liberal has been smug in his "realistic" assessment of the political process, until street demonstrations have once again proven the power of total commitment and direct action and have cast the shadows of timidity and naivete upon those who compromise. Accustomed to regarding himself as the conscience of society, the liberal is scored as the dupe of the establishment by the new militants of SNCC, SDS, and the Berkeley Free Speech Movement.

The philosophy of liberalism, and the liberal's whole style of life, are called into question along with the traditional liberal tactics of compromise. For behind the new radical's certitude about goals, such as total withdrawal from Viet Nam and meaningful political power in Negro hands, and his belief that all established power groups inevitably subvert such goals, he is no less than the most recent American manifestation of the perennial Puritan temperament. This shows in his intense concentration on selected areas of moral failure (war and race prejudice), his acceptance of these as universal standards for judging human conduct, and his belief that most persons who apparently escape such failures (the liberals) are either hypocritical or deluded. The achievement of true purity is thought to be possible only by ascetical means. He argues that genuine acceptance of the Negro or commitment to peace are attainable only through the systematic conquest of natural feelings and habits, a task

for which few men have sufficient courage and strength, and the achievement of which will inevitably alienate the pure man from his hopelessly sinful society.

The liberal's uneasiness before the radical onslaught, most poignantly exemplified in Vice President Humphrey and John Roche of the ADA, partly emanates from a vague awareness that he has previously encountered such attitudes in wholly distasteful situations. He found it in extreme religious fanaticism, militant political reaction, and upsurges of crusading Victorian prudery. Much of the time American liberalism has been dedicated to thwarting precisely such unbending moralism. Now the radicals manifest the same traits in the service of causes which the liberal himself must espouse.

THE traditional counter-attack on the puritan has been the *tu quoque* argument, so that the very word has almost come to mean hypocrite in the popular vocabulary. But a genuine puritanism precludes conscious hypocrisy, and the epithet is unjust when applied to the traditional puritan, as it is when applied to the modern radical. He often demonstrates the sincerity of his convictions by rejecting the major satisfactions of bourgeois life in order to identify totally with the outcast (although the frequency with which, in the past, radicals of the far left have travelled to the far right may indicate that sin often has more attraction for the moralist than he recognizes).

A more cogent objection to the puritan mentality has been to stress the complexity of all moral situations and the psychic disorders of which rigid moral standards are frequently both a cause and a symptom. To achieve maximum tolerance for diversity of human behavior, liberals have repeatedly emphasized that moral situations must be considered in their totality, that failures in one area are

often compensated by virtues in another (the good-hearted prostitute), that all moral transgressions must be treated sympathetically in the light of the transgressor's own experiences and fears, and that all men are guilty. "Enlightened" men of the past few generations have also recognized that rigorous introspection, continued efforts to "purify" one's own motives and desires, and habitual suspicions of those of others are spiritually damaging.

Precisely these assumptions are lacking in the current radical movement as it evaluates bourgeois society. Militant Negroes like James Baldwin and LeRoi Jones insist that all whites bear an ineradicable guilt and an almost congenital inability to act honestly or justly. The white radicals of SDS and the Berkeley uprisings speak with unwavering conviction of the "sickness" of American society and the inability of all except the most alienated persons to reach maturity without being corrupted beyond hope. (Insofar as Negro militancy espouses the "Black Power" concept, thus defining race relations in purely "realistic" terms in which moral considerations are irrelevant, the puritanism of this segment of the left diminishes. However, the anger of the more articulate Negroes remains a righteous anger, and white radicalism has never ceased being moralistic to the core.)

The radicals imply that middle-class people are responsible fully for their beliefs and actions and that social and psychological contexts do not extenuate their failings. They invoke malice and crude self-interest as the most meaningful explanations of bourgeois behavior, and unrelenting divide mankind into good and bad. In these concepts, the radicals have returned to the ethics of two generations ago, a fact recognized neither by the radicals, who conceive themselves as the cutting edge of modern thought and practice, nor the

POSITION

post-puritan bourgeoisie, who see radicalism as undermining all standards. The most truly radical movement in contemporary American society, and the most subversive of traditional values, is unquestionably Ayn Rand and her segment of the right, with its frank glorification of materialistic selfishness. (Left-wing radicalism has not yet come to terms with a fundamental tension within itself between the self-discipline necessary for the revolutionary struggle and its at least theoretical approval of self-indulgent personal freedom, through drugs and sex. The Communists have generally considered these two styles of life incompatible.)

AMERICAN liberalism, however, has been forged precisely as a corrective to this older morality. To forestall the blaming of the poor for their own plight the liberals have undermined the "Protestant ethic" with its view of human behavior as linear progress and its over-emphasis on self-determination. To preserve and strengthen civil liberties for those accused of crimes and for those whose private morality deviates from accepted norms, the liberal has encouraged a spirit of tolerance for moral failings, a reluctance to make sweeping moral judgments and a feeling of sympathy for transgressors. To counter the programs of its right wing critics, the liberal movement has repeatedly stressed the complexity of moral and social problems and the corresponding complexity of possible solutions.

But despite these ingrained habits, the liberal is not prepared to reject totally the renewed moralism of the radical left, partly because he is in sympathy with the aims of the movement and partly because this moralism is a genuine and important part of the liberal's own being. American liberalism has been a precarious and surprisingly successful marriage of two fundamentally incompatible at-

titudes: pragmatism and intense moral concern. No consistent theory could satisfactorily explain the total liberal program, and the liberals have, pragmatically, combined these two elements in various ways to achieve unwaveringly ethical goals. Thus the goal of peace is to be sought by a passionate moral commitment to peace, requiring a flexible, non-moralistic attitude towards Communism. The moral goal of justice for the Negro is to be achieved through "realistic" compromises with such distinctly "unpure" figures as Senator Dirksen.

Perhaps as much as it is anything, the radical movement is, in peace and in civil rights, a rejection of the liberal temperament — that tension between commitment and objectivity which often seemed, as in Adlai Stevenson, like indecisiveness.

The radical criticisms of the liberals have effectively unmasked the instability of this attitude. They charge that the liberals have never been able to decide the scope which moral considerations should have in public affairs. Hitherto these inconsistencies have been vaguely recognized but have seemed to have only philosophic importance. Now the liberal is constantly forced to decide to what degree his sympathy for the bourgeoisie majority, and his desire to mediate social change, can justify delaying recognition of the radical minority's demands.

The liberal is forced to a choice, which also forces a more precise definition of his own beliefs, because he cannot deny or undermine the unassailable moral rightness of the radicals' positions on peace and Negro rights, whether or not the radicals are tainted by the familiar desire to exalt themselves morally above their contemporaries.

But the liberal's reluctance to accept completely the radical ethos is born not only of his pragmatism — his belief that compromise is usually

necessary to effect any change in society — but also from his unwillingness to cut himself off from society. The sting of the radicals' charges is in the liberal's realization that he does cherish the benefits of that society, perhaps more than his commitment to justice for the outsider. But he can also find a degree of valid self-justification in the belief that he has found a social ethic, seeking to reconcile all segments of society, which is more comprehensive, sophisticated, and compassionate than that of the radicals.

IN a certain sense the radicals have no consolation except the enjoyment of their own integrity, assuming that revolution is not a real possibility. The militant radicals' condemnation of the mass of society as totally corrupt destroys even the possibility of hope, as the radicals themselves imply in their rejection of all partial programs.

Ultimately, the liberal applies to the radical movements his familiar tests of workability. If an uncompromising stand and the shrill storming of the seats of power can change American life, then liberalism as a program and an attitude may no longer have a place in politics. But if the "great society" is achieved in this way, it will be at the expense of certain "civilized" virtues which have perhaps have been as much a hallmark of the liberal era as has the welfare state.

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NEGROES NEARING MAJORITY IN MAJOR NORTHERN CITIES

NEGROES are rapidly approaching a numerical majority in many of the nation's largest cities. By 1970, according to one estimate, Negroes will constitute 40 percent or more of the population in 14 of the nation's major cities, including Washington, D.C., Richmond, Gary, Baltimore, Detroit, Newark, St. Louis, New Orleans and Trenton. They will make up over one-third the population in Cleveland and Oakland, and just under one-third in Chicago, Philadelphia and Cincinnati.

The continuing rapid influx of Negroes into the nation's central cities, where they form a disproportionately high percentage of the population, is bound to have major effects both on public policy and urban politics.

Negro Population Movements

In 1960, according to the decennial census, there were 18,860,000 Negroes in the continental United States, not including Alaska and Hawaii, constituting about 10.5 percent of the total population of 178,464,000. The percentage was similar, though varying slightly, over the previous 60 years. In addition, there were 1,149,000 other nonwhite persons (Chinese, Japanese, etc.) in 1960.

Two of the outstanding trends of recent decades were the tendency of Negroes to leave the South and to move from rural areas to towns and cities. The census figures showed, for example, that while 87 percent of the nation's Negroes lived in the South in 1900, only 56 percent did so in 1960. Similarly, while only 27 percent of the nation's Negroes lived in towns, cities and their immediate surrounding suburbs in 1910, a full 73 percent did so in 1960.

In leaving the rural areas, the Negro population tended to concentrate heavily in the central cities of metropolitan areas, rather than in small towns and suburbs. This tendency resulted from several causes, including better job opportunities because of the concentration of business and industry in the central cities, and better housing opportunities due to the absence of anti-Negro prohibitions in many areas and the availability of low-price rental units.

In recent years, the influx of Negroes into the cities, particularly in the North, has been accompanied in many cases by an out-migration of whites "fleeing to the suburbs" for a variety of reasons. Negro birth rates in urban areas also have tended to be higher than those of whites.

The net result is that in the past 25 years, Negroes have come to rep-

resent a disproportionately high percentage of the population of the nation's central cities. (Broadly speaking, the Census Bureau defines central cities as cities of 50,000 or more which form the center of a metropolitan area.) In 1940, according to Census Bureau reports, Negroes made up 9.8 percent of the over-all national population and 9.5 percent of the population of the nation's central cities. By 1960, when the most recent census was taken, Negroes made up 10.5 percent of the total national population but had jumped to 16.7 percent of the population in the central cities.

The figures above, which summarize the developments of all central cities, tell only part of the story. In many individual cities, the increases in the proportion of Negroes were far more rapid and even, in some cases, startling. Washington, D.C., jumped from about 28 percent Negro in 1940 to 54 percent in 1960. Baltimore, Md., increased from 19 percent Negro in 1940 to 35 percent in 1960. The 1940-60 increase in Detroit was from 9 percent Negro to 29 percent and in Philadelphia from 13 percent to 26 percent.

Trend to Continue

The increases in the proportion of Negroes in the total population of the nation's central cities appears certain to continue over the next decade or so but the exact rate of increase was unknown in the absence of detailed studies and projections. In all likelihood, the rate of increase would slow down somewhat because of several factors: a slowdown in white out-migration to the suburbs; the possibility of Negroes moving out to the suburbs with the aid of "fair housing" legislation; and the relative exhaustion of the pool of Southern rural Negroes seeking to come to the cities.

While neither the Census Bureau nor any other Government agency had made estimates or projections of the Negro population of the central cities by 1970, a private market research agency, the Center for Research in Marketing, Peekskill, N.Y., early in 1966 had published estimates on the Negro population of the cities in 1965 and projections for 1970. These figures were believed to be the only ones covering 1965 and 1970 that were available from any source as of mid-1966.

The Center for Research in Marketing (CRM) said that its estimates

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and projections tended to be on the conservative side. Nevertheless, they showed a further substantial increase in the proportion of Negroes in major cities. They indicated that a large number of cities would be nearing Negro majorities by 1970, despite the fact that the over-all percentage of Negroes in the national population — urban, suburban and rural combined — would only be about 11 to 12 percent.

The CRM figures indicated that the greatest increases would come in Northern cities. Negro percentages in Southern cities — already substantial in many cities — would not rise greatly in most cases.

The CRM figures showed that in 1960, only Washington, D.C., among the nation's cities of 100,000 or more population had a Negro majority. Only three other cities — Richmond, Jacksonville and Birmingham — had a Negro percentage as high as 40 percent.

By 1970, however, according to CRM's projections, Washington would be joined by Richmond, Compton, Calif., and Gary in the Negro majority category. Ten other cities — including Baltimore, St. Louis, Newark, Detroit, New Orleans and Trenton — would be in the 40 percent-or-more group. Another 23 cities, among them Cleveland, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Cincinnati, would have populations 30 percent Negro or more.

The CRM figures showed that still another 13 cities of 100,000 or more would have populations of between 25 and 29 percent Negro.

Negro Population of Nation's Largest Cities

The figures below show the percentage of Negroes in the total population of the nation's largest cities for selected years. Percentages for 1940, 1950 and 1960 are based on census data. Population and percentage figures

for 1965 and 1970 were developed by the Center for Research in Marketing, a market research firm. Cities are ranked according to total population in 1965.

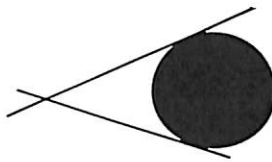
City	Percent Negro			Estimates for 1965			Projections for 1970		
	1940	1950	1960	Total Population	Negro Population	Negro %	Total Population	Negro Population	Negro %
New York	6%	9%	14%	8,282,000	1,300,000	16%	8,100,000	1,500,000	19%
Chicago	8	14	23	3,600,000	960,000	27	3,610,000	1,150,000	32
Los Angeles	4	9	14	2,750,000	500,000	18	3,000,000	700,000	23
Philadelphia	13	14	26	2,070,000	610,000	29	2,200,000	700,000	32
Detroit	9	16	29	1,650,000	650,000	39	1,700,000	800,000	47
Houston	22	21	23	1,040,000	260,000	25	1,140,000	310,000	27
Baltimore	19	24	33	930,000	378,000	41	920,000	432,000	47
Cleveland	10	16	29	811,000	277,000	34	805,000	305,000	38
Wash., D.C.	28	38	54	801,000	506,000	63	840,000	574,000	68
Milwaukee	2	3	9	780,000	102,000	13	800,000	146,000	18
Dallas	17	13	19	740,000	165,000	22	800,000	200,000	25
San Francisco	1	6	10	740,000	100,000	14	750,000	126,000	17
St. Louis	13	18	29	705,000	260,000	37	700,000	320,000	46
Boston	3	5	9	685,000	75,000	11	675,000	85,000	13
New Orleans	30	32	37	656,000	269,000	41	680,000	303,000	45
San Antonio	7	7	7	655,000	57,000	9	720,000	72,000	10
San Diego	2	4	6	648,000	53,000	8	723,000	72,000	10
Pittsburgh	9	12	17	607,000	115,000	19	610,000	126,000	21
Seattle	1	3	5	602,000	40,000	7	647,000	56,000	9
Memphis	41	37	37	539,000	205,000	38	580,000	226,000	39
Buffalo	6	6	13	520,000	96,000	18	510,000	114,000	22
Phoenix	3	5	5	520,000	40,000	8	600,000	60,000	10
Atlanta	38	37	38	515,000	198,000	38	540,000	212,000	39
Denver	2	4	6	502,000	40,000	8	510,000	51,000	10
Columbus, Ohio	12	13	16	500,000	117,000	23	525,000	167,000	32
Indianapolis	13	15	21	490,000	120,000	24	500,000	145,000	29
K.C., Mo.	11	12	17	488,000	100,000	20	500,000	120,000	24
Cincinnati	12	15	22	470,000	130,000	28	470,000	150,000	31
Minneapolis	1	1	2	468,000	16,000	3	450,000	21,000	5
Newark, N.J.	11	17	34	400,000	161,000	40	405,000	185,000	46
Fort Worth	14	13	16	389,000	69,000	18	422,000	83,000	20
Louisville	15	16	18	387,000	80,000	21	385,000	91,000	24
Long Beach	1	2	3	372,000	17,000	5	410,000	28,000	7
Portland, Ore.	1	3	4	370,000	20,000	5	370,000	25,000	7
Oklahoma City	9	9	12	364,000	55,000	15	404,000	72,000	18
Oakland, Calif.	3	12	23	360,000	112,000	31	360,000	140,000	39
Birmingham	41	40	40	348,000	138,000	40	354,000	141,000	40
Norfolk, Va.	32	29	26	343,000	84,000	24	380,000	89,000	23
Miami, Fla.	22	16	22	330,000	83,000	26	370,000	105,000	28
Omaha	5	6	8	330,000	34,000	10	360,000	44,000	12
Teledo	5	8	13	325,000	58,000	18	330,000	77,000	23
Tampa	21	22	17	315,000	54,000	17	350,000	61,000	17
Rochester	1	2	8	303,000	33,000	11	305,000	42,000	14
Tulsa	11	9	8	302,000	25,000	8	342,000	28,000	8
Akron	5	9	13	300,000	54,000	18	305,000	68,000	22
St. Paul	1	2	3	296,000	10,000	3	280,000	12,000	4
Wichita	5	5	8	282,000	33,000	12	310,000	44,000	14
Dayton	9	14	22	271,000	71,000	26	280,000	85,000	30
Jersey City	4	7	13	270,000	45,000	17	265,000	52,000	20
Sacramento	1	4	6	245,000	40,000	16	290,000	64,000	22
Mobile	37	36	33	233,000	76,000	33	263,000	86,000	33
Charlotte	31	28	28	225,000	61,000	27	248,000	67,000	27
Des Moines	4	4	5	225,000	12,000	5	250,000	14,000	6
St. Petersburg	20	14	13	219,000	29,000	13	279,000	34,000	13
Richmond	32	32	42	215,000	101,000	47	215,000	110,000	51
Austin	17	14	13	212,000	28,000	13	235,000	32,000	14
Syracuse	1	2	5	210,000	15,000	7	205,000	20,000	10
Flint	4	9	18	200,000	44,000	22	200,000	52,000	26
Jacksonville	36	35	41	200,000	88,000	44	202,000	94,000	47
Providence	1	3	5	200,000	14,000	7	200,000	18,000	9

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. Charles L. Klotzer.



VOTING RECORDS

Congress

Symbols:

S: Senate Bill
HR: House of Representatives Bill
R: Republican
D: Democrat
ND: Northern Democrat
SD: Southern Democrat
Res: Resolution
J. Res: Joint Resolution
Y: Affirmative Vote
N: Negative Vote
F: Paired or Announced For
X: Paired or Announced Against
Pres.: President

U. S. HOUSE VOTES

(A) HR 14765: CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1966. Adoption of H Res 910, an open rule permitting 10 hours of debate on and amendments to HR 14765. Adopted 200-180: R 20-105; D 180-75 (ND 158-13; SD 22-62), 7-25-66. A yes supported the Pres.

(B) HR 14765: CIVIL RIGHTS. Amendment to permit a real estate broker or his agents to discriminate in the sale or rental of a dwelling on express written instruction to do so from an owner otherwise exempt, provided the broker or agent did not encourage or solicit the instruction. Accepted 237-176: R 69-69; D 168-107 (ND 150-33; SD 18-74), 8-9-66. A yes supported the Pres.

(C) HR 14765: CIVIL RIGHTS. Amendment making it a federal crime to travel in interstate commerce or to use the mails with intent to incite or commit riot, to commit an act of violence or any state or federal felony or to assist or encourage commission of such acts. Accepted 389-25: R 138-0; D 251-25 (ND 160-24; SD 91-1), 8-9-66. The Pres. did not take a position.

(D) HR 14765: CIVIL RIGHTS. Amendment requiring a complaint in writing to the Attorney General from a person deprived or threatened with loss of equal protection of the laws before the Attorney General files suit to desegregate public schools or facilities. Accepted 214-201: R 103-35; D 111-166 (ND 29-155; SD 82-11), 8-9-66. A nay supported the Pres.

(E) HR 14765: CIVIL RIGHTS. Motion to recommend the bill to the Judiciary Committee with instructions to delete Title IV, the open housing title. Rejected 190-222: R 86-50; D 104-172 (ND 24-160; SD 80-12), 8-9-66. A nay supported the Pres.

(F) HR 14765: CIVIL RIGHTS. Passage of the Act to bar discrimination in the selection of federal and state juries, to provide for injunctive relief against and punishment for interference with the exercise of rights, to bar discrimination in the sale or rental of some housing and to authorize suits to desegregate public facilities. Passed 259-157: R 76-62; D 183-95 (ND 169-17; SD 14-78), 8-9-66. A yes supported the Pres.

(G) HR 14810: URBAN MASS TRANSPORTATION. Passage of the bill extending the Urb. M. Tr. Act of 1964 for one year, through fiscal 1968; authorizing appropriations of \$150 million for fiscal 1968; increasing the limit on the amount which may be spent on research, development and demonstration projects; and authorizing a new program of grants for certain technical studies. Passed 236-127: R 59-66; D 177-61 (ND 146-11; SD 31-50), 8-16-66. A yes supported the Pres.

(H) HR 13290: HIGHWAY SAFETY. Passage of the Highway Safety Act of 1966 establishing a three-year, \$270 million highway safety program. Passed 317-3: R 111-0; D 206-3 (ND 137-0; SD 69-3), 8-18-66. A yes supported the Pres.

(I) S 3700: URBAN MASS TRANSPORTATION. Adoption of the conference report on the bill, extending the UMT Act of 1964 for two years, through fiscal 1969; authorizing appropriations of \$150 million in each of fiscal years 1968 and 1969. Adopted 156-86: R 35-38; D 120-48 (ND 99-13; SD 21-35), 8-26-66. A yes supported the Pres.

(J) HR 15963: TRANSPORTATION DEPT. Passage of the bill to establish a Cabinet-level Department of Transportation involving promotions and safety in the aviation, highway, and railway sectors, and the U.S. Coast Guard. Passed 336-42: R 101-19; D 235-23 (ND 168-5; SD 67-18), 8-30-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(K) HR 16574: PEACE CORPS. Passage of the bill authorizing appropriation of \$110 million for the Peace Corps in fiscal 1967. Passed 322-15: R 112-4; D 210-11 (ND 147-0; SD 63-11), 8-31-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(L) HR 15750: FOREIGN ASSISTANCE. Adoption of the conference report on the Foreign Assistance Act of 1966 authorizing \$3,500,735,500 appropriations for all foreign economic and military aid. Adopted 217-127: R 39-76; D 178-51 (ND 145-13; SD 33-38), 9-1-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(M) HR 13712: MINIMUM WAGE. Adoption of the conference report on the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966, increasing the federal minimum wage for non-farm workers in stages from \$1.25 to \$1.60 an hour, to become fully effective by 2-1-68, for presently covered workers, and by 2-1-71, for non-farm workers bought under minimum wage coverage for the first time by the bill; extending minimum wage coverage to an additional 8.1 million employees, including certain agricultural workers; extending overtime pay protection to certain employees not previously covered; and establishing a minimum wage of \$1 an hour for newly covered farm workers, to be increased in steps to \$1.30 by 2-1-69. Adopted 260-89: R 72-47; D 188-42 (ND 157-2; SD 31-40), 9-7-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(N) HR 17488: VETERANS PENSION. Passage of the Veterans' Pension Act of 1966 providing increases averaging 5.4 percent in the rates of non-service-connected disability and death pensions payable to veterans and their survivors. Passed 315-2: R 101-2; D 214-0 (ND 144-0; SD 70-0), 9-19-66. A no supports the Pres.

(O) HR 17788: FOREIGN ASSISTANCE. Passage of the Foreign Assistance and Related Agencies Appropriations for Fiscal 1967, amounting to \$3,047,065,800 for foreign assistance and \$556,983,000 for related programs. Passed 234-141: R 39-86; D 195-55 (ND 155-12; SD 40-43), 9-20-66. The Pres. did not take a position.

(P) HR 15111: WAR ON POVERTY. Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1966. Motion to strike the enacting clause. Passage would have killed the bill. Rejected 156-208: R 107-15; D 49-193 (ND 5-159; SD 44-34), 9-29-66. A no supports the Pres.

(Q) HR 15111: WAR ON POVERTY. Passage of the bill to authorize \$1.75 billion for the "war on poverty" during fiscal 1967. Passed 210-156: R 15-105; D 195-51 (ND 167-5; SD 28-46), 9-29-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(R) HR 17607: TAX CREDIT. Passage of the bill, providing a 16-month suspension of (1) the 7 per cent investment tax credit on the purchase of new and used machinery and equipment and (2) authority for certain types of accelerated depreciation on commercial and industrial buildings. Passed 221-118: R 31-81; D 190-37 (ND 149-10; SD 41-27), 9-30-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(S) HR 16076: WATER POLLUTION. Passage of the bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, extending and expanding existing water pollution control programs, creating a new Clean Rivers Restoration program, and authorizing appropriations of \$2,703,000,000 for federal water pollution control activities in the fiscal years 1967-71. Passed 313-0: R 101-0; D 212-0 (ND 148-0; SD 64-0), 9-30-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(T) S 985: FAIR PACKAGING AND LABELING. Passage of the bill authorizing the Secretary of H. E. and W. and the FTC to require that packages be labeled in clear, simple and unqualified terms and to encourage (but not require) industry development of standard weights and quantities for packages. Passed 300-8: R 103-3; D 197-5 (ND 135-1; SD 62-4), 10-3-66. A yes supports the Pres.

U. S. SENATE VOTES

(A) S 3005: TRAFFIC SAFETY. Passage of the Traffic Safety Act of 1966 to do the following: require interim federal standards for motor vehicle performance by 1-31-67, and revised standards by 1-31-68, and at least once every two years thereafter; establish civil penalties for violation of the standards. Passed 76-0: R 24-0; D 52-0 (ND 38-0; SD 14-0), 6-24-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(B) HR 14122: PAY INCREASE. Passage of the Federal Salary and Fringe Benefits Act of 1966, effective 7-1-66, providing a general 2.9 per cent pay increase as well as certain fringe benefits for most federal classified employees. Passed 81-0: R 29-0; D 52-0 (ND 34-0; SD 18-0), 7-11-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(C) S 3112: AIR POLLUTION. Clean Air Act Amendments of 1966. Passage of the bill to:

authorize a new program of federal grants to local, state, and regional agencies to help them maintain pollution control programs: to remove the existing limitation that only 20 per cent of funds appropriated annually could be used for grants; and to increase the appropriations authorization for fiscal 1967 and provide specific authorizations for fiscal 1968 and 1969. Passed 80-0: R 29-0; D 51-0 (ND 34-0; SD 17-0), 7-12-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(D) S 3467: SCHOOL LUNCH. National School Lunch Act Amendments. Amendment to establish a summer lunch program for day camps and similar activities. Rejected 37-42: R 3-26; D 34-16 (ND 31-3; SD 3-13), 7-12-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(E) S 3467: SCHOOL LUNCH. Passage of the bill amending the act to: combine the school lunch and special milk programs; extend the special milk program from 6-30-67 through 6-30-70; provide for a pilot school breakfast program and provide non-food assistance to help schools in low-income areas establish food programs. Passed 76-0: R 28-0; D 48-0 (ND 33-0; SD 15-0), 7-12-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(F) S 2947: WATER POLLUTION. Federal Water Pollution Control Amendments and Clear Rivers Restoration Act of 1966. Passage of the bill, authorizing \$6 billion over fiscal 1967-72 for matching grants for construction of waste treatment and sewage facilities, with a larger federal share available for states and localities with a comprehensive plan for combating pollution to enter river basins. Passed 90-0: R 31-0; D 59-0 (ND 40-0; SD 19-0), 7-13-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(G) S 3584: BARS AID. Amendment to bar aid to Latin American governments which came to power by unconstitutional means, to require that before the Pres. could waive the ban, he must report to Congress that furnishing of aid was in the national interest and Congress must adopt a concurrent resolution of approval. Rejected 16-71: R 3-25; D 13-46 (ND 11-30; SD 2-16), 7-21-66. The Pres. took no position.

(H) HR 15119: 20-WEEK REQUIREMENT. Unemployment Insurance Amendments of 1966. Amendment prohibits states in their unemployment compensation laws from requiring workers to have been employed for more than 20 weeks in a given year in order to qualify for benefits. Accepted 44-39: R 6-24; D 38-15 (ND 35-3; SD 3-12), 8-5-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(I) HR 15119: MINIMUM BENEFITS. Amendment requires state laws to provide benefits equal to at least 50 per cent of an employee's normal wage or the state maximum weekly benefit amount, whichever was less. Accepted 44-38: R 5-24; D 39-14 (ND 36-1; SD 3-13), 8-5-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(J) HR 15119: RECESSION PERIOD. Amendment provides full federal financing (rather than joint federal-state financing provided by the House bill) for a new program of extended unemployment compensation benefits available during periods of national or state recession. Accepted 47-39: R 5-23; D 42-16 (ND 36-4; SD 6-12), 8-8-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(K) HR 15119: TAXABLE WAGES. Broadens the taxable wage base to a 1972 level of \$4,800. Accepted 51-36: R 6-22; D 45-14 (ND 39-2; SD 6-12), 8-8-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(L) HR 15119: MINIMUM COVERAGE. Amendment to require states to provide a minimum 26 weeks of unemployment compensation coverage for workers who had been employed 39 weeks or more. Accepted 53-31: R 9-18; D 44-13 (ND 41-1; SD 3-12), 8-8-66. The Pres. took no position.

(M) HR 15119: JOB BENEFITS. Passage of the jobless benefits bill requiring states to meet minimum federal standards for the amount and duration of state unemployment compensation benefits; extending coverage to an additional 2.3 million workers; providing a new program during recessions; financing by an increase in the tax from 3.1 per cent to 3.3 per cent in 1967; and increasing the taxable wage base from \$3,000 to \$4,800 by 1972. Passed 53-31: R 8-20; D 45-11 (ND 39-1; SD 6-10), 8-8-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(N) HR 14921: RENT SUPPLEMENTS. Amendment to delete \$20 million in rent supplement contract authority in fiscal 1967 and \$2 million in supplement payments. Rejected 38-51: R 22-8; D 16-43 (ND 6-35; SD 10-8), 8-10-66.

(O) HR 14921: RENT SUPPLEMENTS. Passage of the bill appropriating for 1967 \$14,118,607,000 for 23 independent executive offices and agencies and the Department of Housing and Urban Development, including the program of rent supplements. Passed 82-2: R 29-1; D 53-1 (ND 37-1; SD 16-0), 8-10-66. The Pres. took no position.

(P) S 3700: TRANSPORTATION. Passage of the bill extending the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 for two years authorizing appropriations of \$150 million for each fiscal year. Passed 65-18: R 17-14; D 48-4 (ND 35-0; SD 13-4), 8-15-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(Q) S 3708: "DEMONSTRATION CITIES." Passage of the bill authorizing "demonstration city" grants for community renewal, "incentive" planning grants for orderly metropolitan development and other programs relating to housing and

urban development. Passed 53-22: R 14-13; D 39-9 (ND 34-1; SD 5-8). 8-19-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(R) HR 13712: MINIMUM WAGE. Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966. Amendment to retain the bill's new minimum wage for presently covered workers at \$1.40 an hour for an additional year, until 2-1-69. Rejected 4-42: R 21-7; D 19-35 (ND 3-32; SD 16-3). 8-25-66. The Pres. took no position.

(S) HR 13712: MINIMUM WAGE. Amendment substituting language providing certain agricultural workers a minimum wage of \$1.60 by 1971. (The reported bill established a \$1 minimum for covered agricultural workers, to be increased in steps to \$1.30 by 1969.) Rejected 22-64: R 4-25; D 18-39 (ND 18-19; SD 0-20). 8-25-66. The Pres. took no position.

(T) HR 13712: MIGRANT FARMERS. Amendment to bar agricultural employment of children of migrant farm workers. Rejected 31-51: R 8-19; D 23-32 (ND 20-16; SD 3-16). 8-26-66. The Pres. took no position.

(U) HR 13712: MINIMUM WAGE. Passage of the bill to increase the federal minimum wage of non-farm workers in stages from \$1.25 to \$1.60 an hour to become fully effective by 2-1-68, for presently covered workers and by 2-1-71, for non-farm workers brought under coverage for the first time by the bill; extend minimum wage coverage to an additional 7 million employees, including certain agricultural workers; extend overtime pay protection to certain employees not previously covered; and establish a minimum wage of \$1 an hour for newly covered farm workers, to be increased in steps to \$1.30 by 2-1-69. Passed 57-17: R 15-9; D 42-8 (ND 32-0; SD 10-8). 8-26-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(V) HR 14929: FOOD FOR PEACE. Passage of the Food for Peace Act of 1966, extending for two years most aspects of the existing Food for Peace program and amending PL480 to change its emphasis from disposal of surplus farm commodities to planned production for export, to require a transition from sales for foreign currencies to sales for dollars, and to place emphasis on the efforts of recipient countries to improve their own agricultural production and undertake population control programs. Passed

74-2: R 22-1; D 52-1 (ND 35-1; SD 17-0). 8-31-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(W) HR 15750: FOREIGN ASSISTANCE. Adoption of the conference report on the Foreign Assistance Act of 1966 authorizing \$3,500,735,500 in appropriations for foreign economic and military for fiscal 1967. Adopted 33-25: R 8-10; D 25-15 (ND 19-5; SD 6-10). 9-7-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(X) HR 13712: MINIMUM WAGE. Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966. Adoption of the conference report. Similar to (U) (see above) except that coverage is extended to an additional 8.1 million. Adopted 55-38: R 10-23; D 45-15 (ND 40-1; SD 5-14). 9-14-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(Y) HR 14765: CIVIL RIGHTS. Motion that the Senate invoke cloture on debate on the Civil Rights Act of 1966 to ban discrimination in the selection of federal and state jurors and in the sale and rental of some housing and to protect Negroes and civil rights workers. Rejected 42-42: R 12-21; D 42-21 (ND 37-4; SD 5-17). 9-14-66. With 96 Senators voting, 64 votes were required to invoke cloture. A yes supports the Pres.

(Z) HR 14765: CLOTURE. Motion that the Senate invoke cloture on debate on Civil Rights Act of 1966. Rejected 52-41: R 10-20; D 42-21 (ND 38-4; SD 4-17). 9-19-66. With 93 Senators voting, 62 votes were required. A yes supports the Pres.

(AA) SJ Res 144: PRAYERS. Sen Bayh substitute for Dirksen amendment expressing the sense of Congress that voluntary prayer should be permitted in public schools. Rejected 33-52: R 2-28; D 31-24 (ND 27-8; SD 4-16). 9-21-66. The Pres. took no position.

(BB) SJ Res 144: PRAYERS. Proposes an amendment to the Constitution to permit voluntary prayer in public schools. Rejected 49-37: R 27-3; D 22-34 (ND 7-29; SD 15-5). 9-21-66. With 86 Senators voting, 58 votes were required to propose an amendment. The Pres. took no position.

(CC) HR 14745: TITLE VI. Amendment to increase by \$570,000 the funds for Labor - HEW Appropriations for Fiscal 1967 for activities relating to enforcement of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, providing about 35 new positions. Rejected 25-40: R 4-17; D 21-23 (ND 20-8; SD 1-15). 9-27-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(DD) HR 14745: PATIENT DISCRIMINATION. Amendment to prohibit HEW from imposing "any requirement or responsibility" on a hospital or medical facility which required a patient to use integrated quarters if the patient's doctor and the chief medical officer of the hospital or facility certified that integration would be detrimental to the patient's physical or mental well-being. Accepted 55-11: R 18-2; D 37-9 (ND 21-9; SD 16-0). 9-27-66. The Pres. took no position.

(EE) HR 15962: TRANSPORTATION DEPT. Passage of the bill to establish a Cabinet-level Department of Transportation bringing together major federal agencies and functions involving promotion and safety in the aviation, highway, maritime, and railway sectors, and the U.S. Coast Guard. Passed 64-2: R 16-1; D 48-1 (ND 33-1; SD 15-0). 9-29-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(FF) S 3164: CUTS POVERTY BILL. Amendment to reduce the total authorization under the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1966 from \$2,496,000,000 to \$1.75 billion, as requested in the Pres.'s budget. (Originally an amendment had reduced it to \$2.1 billion - which was later again accepted by voice vote.) Accepted 45-27: R 22-2; D 23-25 (ND 11-23; SD 12-2). 10-4-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(GG) S 3164: BARS RIOTERS. Amendment to prohibit the payment of antipoverty workers' salaries, and to bar assistance or benefits to participants in the program, who incite a riot or have membership in an organization specified as subversive by the U.S. Attorney General. Accepted 39-32: R 15-8; D 24-24 (ND 12-21; SD 12-3). 10-4-66. The Pres. took no position.

(HH) HR 15111: POVERTY FUNDS. Passage of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1966, authorizing appropriations of \$1.75 billion for the "war on poverty" in fiscal 1967 and making a variety of changes in the basic law. Passed 49-20: R 12-11; D 37-9 (ND 32-0; SD 5-9). 10-4-66.

(II) HR 17788: FOREIGN ASSISTANCE. Passage of the Foreign Assistance and Related Agencies Appropriations for Fiscal 1967, appropriating \$2,936,490,500 for foreign assistance and \$556,983,000 for related programs. Passed 52-22: R 16-8; D 36-14 (ND 26-4; SD 10-10). 10-5-66. The Pres. took no position.

U.S. HOUSE

ILLINOIS

GRAY (D)

PRICE (D)

SCHISLER (D)

SHIPLEY (D)

ANDERSON (R)

ARENS (R)

ERLENBORN (R)

FINDLEY (R)

MCCLORY (R)

MICHEL (R)

REID (R)

SPRINGER (R)

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DIRKSEN (R. Ill.)

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Ernest Kroll

Louisiana Pastorale

(Lake Charles)

Their majesties, three queens of color, fishing.
Wading to the knees in cotton dresses,
Turbaned for the sport, all standing
Offshore within their own reflections
Coloring the water like an oil slick,
Pleasure creasing round the brilliant teeth
Their faces as they watch the lake beneath
Them break into concentric rings;
Fishing, if the truth were known, not merely
For the pleasure, but to fetch an easy meal
For, lazy in the palaces at leisure,
Their dark, improvident, and ravenous kings.

Ernst Kroll will shortly publish his third book of poems in which "Louisiana Pastorale" will be included. His two earlier books, "Cape Horn and Other Poems" and "The Pauses Of The Eye," were published by E. P. Dutton & Co. His writings have been appearing in a wide variety of publications since 1954.

William R. Slaughter

Snapshot Of A. J.

It's 1949 again,
the year it snowed
in July.

And there you are—

Barefoot, in bermudas,
poking a pipe
in the snowman's mouth.

Sparrows
are making small-talk
on the neighbor's roof.

And the sun is out.

God, it's terrible—
next year, at this time,
you'll be dead.

In The Blind

Coot is the color
Of the hunter's sky.
The teal
Are hiding out.
In the cattails
I starve.
Whiskey for breakfast.
Charge. The fire
In hungry.
Guns are in season.

William R. Slaughter teaches English as Purdue University. His writings have been published in Colorado Quarterly, New Mexico Quarterly, Prism, Western Review and many other publications.